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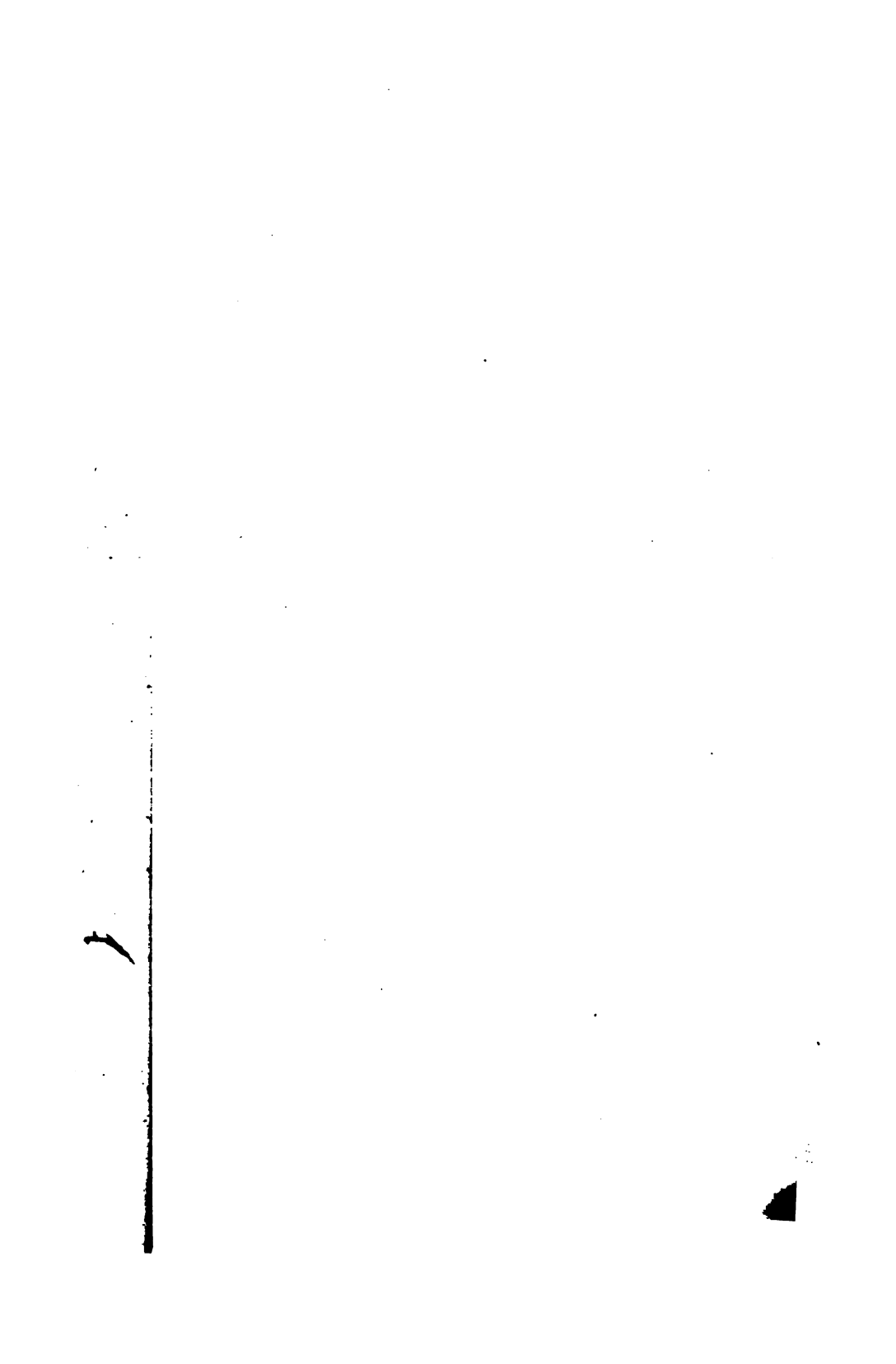
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A GLIMPSE INTO THE WORK
OF THE
B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100
years, from a Parsee point of view.

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. (1877),

*Fellow of the University of Bombay (1887), Dipl. Litteris et Artibus
(Sweden, 1889), Shams-ul-Ulama (Government of India, 1893), Officier
D'Académie (France, 1898), Officier de l'Instruction Publique (France, 1902).*

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

In English.

The Religious System of the Parsees.

The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their Comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ.

Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, va Afdya va Sahigiya-i Seistân, i.e., the Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Irân, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân. (Pahlavi translations, Part I. Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarâti translations and notes.)

Jâmâspi (Pahlavi translations, Part III. Pahlavi, Pasend and Persian texts with translations.)

Wine among the Ancient Persians.

Astodân.

The Persian Mâr-Nâme, or, The Book for the taking of Omens from Snakes.

Charms or Amulets and a few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse.

Two Avesta Amulets.

Asiatic Papers.

A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates.

Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris.

La Visite d'un Parsi à la Ville de Constantinople.

La Cérémonie du Naojote parmi les Parsis.

ગુજરાતી In Gujarati.

વાયુચક્ર શાસ્ત્ર. Meteorology.

જમશેદ, હોમ અને આતશ. Jamshed, Hom and Fire.

અવસ્તા જમાનાની ધરસંસારી જીંદગી, ભૂગોલ અને એકરાનામું. The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of Avesta times.

અનાહીત અને ફરોહર. Anâhita and Farôhar.

ભવિષ્યની જીંદગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું. Immortality of the Soul. મેદેર અને જશને મેદેરગાન. Mithra and the Feast of Mithras.

અવસ્તાનાં વિશેષ નામોની ફરહંગ. A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names.

ઇરાની વિષયો. Irânian Essays, Part I.

ઇરાની વિષયો ભાગ બીજો. Irânian Essays, Part II.

ઇરાની વિષયો ભાગ ત્રીજો. Irânian Essays, Part III.

મોત ઉપર વાગ્દેશ. A Sermon on Death

શાહનામું અને ફીરદોસી. Shâh-nâmeh and Firdousi.

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો (ભાગ પહેલો.) Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part I.

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ બીજો. Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society, Part II. (In the Press.)

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મસંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાગ્દેશો, ભાગ પહેલો. Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects, Part I.

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મસંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાગ્દેશો, ભાગ બીજો. Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects, Part II.

શાહનામું. મીનોચેદેરના રાજ્ય સુધી. Shâh-nâmeh up to the Reign of Minocheher.

બુન્દેહેશ. Bundehash. (Pahlavi Translations, Part II.)

કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ, હીરોડોટસ અને સ્ટ્રેબો મુજબ અવસ્તા અને બીજાં પારસી પુસ્તકોની સરખામણી સાથે. The Ancient Irânians, according to Herodotus and Strabo, compared with the Avesta and other Parsee books.

WORKS EDITED BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.

The Pahlavi Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dadistân.

To
The Editor and the Staff
of
The "Jâm-e-Jamshed."

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PREFACE.

This work contains a Review of the Papers and Notes on Iranian subjects, read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, during the last 100 years (November 1804 to October 1904).

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in November 1804, under the name of "The Literary Society of Bombay." So, it completed its 100 years in November 1904. It celebrated its Centenary in January 1905. Of the several ways in which it was sought to celebrate the Centenary, one was to issue a "Centenary Memorial Volume." On 15th October 1903, the Committee of Management asked Mr. Khurshedji Rustomji Cama and myself to prepare a part of the volume dealing with Parsee subjects. Mr. Cama kindly left the work to myself, and this book is the result of that work.

On 17th January 1905, the opening day of the Centenary celebrations, a summary of this paper was read at the rooms of the Society in the Town Hall under the title of "A glimpse into the work of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view." To draw the attention of a larger number of persons particularly interested in the subject, a great part of the paper was read before the "Jarthoshti Din ni Khol-karnâri Mandli" (The Society for inquiring into Zoroastrian Studies) at its meetings held on 27th August, 2nd and 24th September, 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th October, and 19th November 1904. The Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 17th of January 1905, and all the above-mentioned eight meetings of the above *mandli* were presided over by Mr. K. R. Cama, the guide, friend and philosopher of students interested in Irânian subjects in Bombay.

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this work to the Editor and Staff of the "Jâm-e-Jamshed" of Bombay. The subjects of some of my papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of several of my lectures and papers before other Societies, were suggested to me while preparing my contributions for this well-known Parsee Journal. For example,

the subject of my very first paper (The River Karun) before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and that of my paper before the Asiatic Society of Paris (*L'Etymologie Populaire des noms des etapes entre Pichaver et Kaboul*)—both of which are published in my Asiatic Papers,—were handled by me, at first, for short contributions for that paper. The preliminary cursory study for these short contributions, has, at many a time, led me to further study, and has suggested to me many a subject for my papers and lectures. I hope, one day, to collect, in a book form, all my contributions to its columns. I look with pride and pleasure at my connection with this Journal as its contributor for these last eighteen years. At the end of this pretty long period, I can say, with a clear conscience, that, at no time during this connection, have I taken any undue advantage of the hospitality of its columns. I have written on purely literary subjects and on such other subjects as have fallen within the sphere of my reading and study. I have never held my pen to offend others. While expressing my hearty thanks to Mr. Jehangier Byramjee Murzban, the present Editor, who has, by his praiseworthy journalistic enterprise, raised his paper to the rank of a widely-circulated, influential and well-conducted paper, and while expressing my thanks to his staff for the hospitality of its columns extended to me, I cannot but remember the names of two of the past members of the staff, the late Mr. Kâvasji Merwânji Shroff, its former Editor, and the late Mr. Ardeshir Byramji Patel, its former Sub-Editor. I remember with gratitude the name of the former, who, about 21 years ago, pleased with my very first lecture on a Parsee subject at the Framji Cowasji Institute, there and then purchased its copyright for his paper and thus extended to me a helping hand of encouragement.

I conclude by offering my best thanks to my friend, Mr. Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhâbhar, M.A., for kindly preparing for me an excellent Index for this work and for my "Asiatic Papers."

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

MÂHÂBLESHWAR,

26th May 1905. (Roz Depmeher,
Mâh Âdar, 1274 Yazdazardi.)

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The numbers of the pages of cross-references in the body of this paper and in the footnotes refer to the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society (The Centenary Memorial Volume) from which this book is a reprint. So the cross-references as applied to this work stand as follow :—

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REVIEW

OF THE

Work of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,

During the last 100 years (November 1804 to 1904)

FROM A PARSEE POINT OF VIEW.

Introduction.

The object of this paper is threefold—

- (1) To draw the attention of the present generation of students, to the different papers and notes on Parsee subjects, contributed to the journals¹ of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
- (2) To give a brief outline—where convenient—of those papers, or to point out their chief features.
- (3) To make a few remarks on those papers, with a view to bring to notice, what has been said by others on the questions treated in those papers.

The three volumes of the Transactions, published in 1819, 1820, and 1823, contain the papers submitted to the Literary Society from 1804, the date of its foundation, to 1821, when it changed its name, and formed itself into a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society formed in 1821 in London. From 1821 to 1841 we had no journal, as the Bombay Branch sent all the papers, submitted to it, to the principal Society in London, to be published in its journal. From 1841, it started again a journal of its own, and up to now, 21 volumes have been published. In this paper, I refer to the different papers and notes, presented to the Society, under the head of each volume of the journal.

The Parsees owe a debt of gratitude to this Society, for having done something, though not much, in the matter of exciting some interest among its learned members in the matter of their history, religion and literature. In 1812, *i.e.*, about eight years after the founding of this Society, John Malcolm, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, the future historian

¹ Under the name of journals, I include the three volumes of the original Society, "The Literary Society of Bombay," published under the title of "The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay." The references in this paper to the volumes of these Transactions are to the second edition, published in 1877, and edited by the late Mr. Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, one of the then honorary secretaries.

of Persia and the Governor of Bombay (1829-30), in his speech, while proposing a motion, that the founder of the Society, Sir James Mackintosh, be requested to sit for a bust, said, that "a complete account of the Guebers or Parsees" was then "still a desideratum."¹ Though that desideratum has not been supplied as a whole by the Society, yet, it has indirectly done, and has provided some materials to do, something in that line, whereby others outside the Society have done something more.

I, personally, am very greatly indebted to the Society, especially to its excellent library—excellent in its treasures of old books. Were it not for these, I would not have been able to play even half my humble part, as I have done, in the literary line. I look back with pleasure to the hours I have spent in the rooms of this Society, in the company of some of its members, while reading my papers or hearing those of others; and I look back with greater pleasure to the days and months and years that I have passed at home, in the company of its precious treasures.

I will divide my subject into three parts—

- I. The first part will treat of those papers, that are on Irânian or Parsee subjects, properly so called.
- II. The second part will treat of those papers that refer indirectly or incidentally to Irânian subjects.
- III. The third part will present a glimpse of the Proceedings of the Society, from a Parsee point of view.

I

With these few preliminary remarks, I will come to the subject of my paper, and speak, at first, of the different papers on Parsee subjects, in the order, in which they have been published in the Journals.

Transactions, L. S., B., Vol. I, pp. 129-49. Read, 30th March 1812.

Babylon has played an important part in the history of Ancient Persia.

"Account of the present, compared with the ancient, state of Babylon." By Capt. Edward Frederick. It is the Bawri (بـاوری) of the Avesta (Yt. V. (Âbân) 29), Bâbirush of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (Behistun I, par. 6, Journal, Royal A. Society, Vol. X, Part III (1847), p. 197), Bâwir (بـاویر) of the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân (s. 24), and Babel (بـابل) of the Persian authors.

The ruins of Babylon, referred to by Capt. Frederick and by other travellers, are the ruins of the city of the times of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. As Rev. Sayce² says, "The Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar and his father, Nabopolassar, must have suffered when taken by Cyrus; but two sieges in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and one in the reign of Xerxes, brought about the destruction of the defences, while the

¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, I, p. 357.

² Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. III, p. 182.

monotheistic rule of Persia allowed the temples to fall into decay. Alexander found the great temple of Bel a shapeless ruin, and the rise of Seleucia in its neighbourhood drew away its population and completed its material decay. The buildings became a quarry, first for Seleucia and then for Ctesiphon, Al Modain, Baghdad, Kufa, Kerbelah, Hillah and other towns, and our only cause for wonder is, that the remains of the great capital of Babylonia are still so extensive".

It is of these remains, that Capt. Frederick speaks, in his paper. He makes at first,¹ a "few general observations relative to the position and ancient state of Babylon."² He then³ states the result of his "own researches during a stay of six days at Hillah," which he had "dedicated to the examination of these ruins"⁴ and concludes "with a few general observations upon the whole."⁵

Major Rennel and others had visited these ruins before Capt. Frederick. Major Rennel describes them at some length in his "Geographical System of Herodotus."⁶ Kinneir had visited them in 1808, *i.e.*, about four years before the date of our author's visit. But he published his account in 1813, in his "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire," dedicated to Sir John Malcolm. Therein, he refers often to the account of Capt. Frederick.

In his general observations, relating to the position and ancient state of Babylon, Capt. Frederick follows Herodotus (Bk. I, Clio, 178—200), who, however, says nothing about its founder. It "is said to have been founded by Belus, and embellished by Semiramis, the warlike queen of the East, and afterwards to have been particularly repaired, enlarged, and beautified by Nebuchadnezzar."⁷ Now this Belus or Bel of Babylonia is identified with the Nimrod of the Christian Bible.⁸ According to Malcolm,⁹ Nimrod is identified by some with the Zohâk of the Shâhnâmeh, the Azidahâk of the Avesta. This identification receives some support from several Irânian books.

Firstly, the Avesta (Yt. 5, (Abân) 29) connects this Zohâk or Azidahâk with Bawri or Babylon, just as Nimrod, who is identified with Bel or Belus, is connected with Babylon.

Secondly, the Pahlavi Dinkard¹¹ also connects Zohâk with Babylon, when it says: "One marvel is several matters of evil deceit which Dahâk (Zohâk) had done in Bâpel (Babel or Babylon) through witchcraft."

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., I, pp. 129-31. ² *Ibid.*, p. 132. ³ Transactions, L. S., B., I, pp. 132-142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-148. ⁶ Ed. of 1800, pp. 335-388. ⁷ "A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire," by John MacDonald Kinneir (1813), pp. 269-282.

⁸ Transactions, L. S., B., I, p. 130. ⁹ *Vide* Sir H. Rawlinson's article (Essay X) in Rawlinson's Herodotus (1858) I, p. 596. According to Kinneir there is a pyramid among the ruins of Babylon, which the Arabs call "Nimrod." Kinneir's Persian Empire (1813), p. 275.

¹⁰ Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 12 (Ed. of 1829).

¹¹ S. B. E. XLVII, Dinkard, p. 67. Bk. VII, ch. IV, 72.

Thirdly, the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân also connects Zohâk with Babylon, though indirectly and without naming him. It says: ¹ "The city of Bâwir (Babylon) was founded in the reign of Jam (shed). He (*i.e.*, the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury. (By the situation of the city or its building) he pointed out magically the seven planets, the twelve constellations and signs of the Zodiac, and the eighth part (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets." The founder, alluded to in this para., is said to have built the city in the time of Jamshed. Now Zohâk was a contemporary of Jamshed. So, it is he, who is alluded to here. The allusion to the building of the city, pointing to the seven planets, &c., seems to refer to the tower of Babylon, referred to by Herodotus, which is believed to have been built with an eye to astronomical calculations.

Among other Oriental writers, Maçoudi² attributes the foundation of Babylon to Nimrod. Ebn Haukal also attributes the foundation of Babylon to Zohâk. He says: "They say that Babel was founded by Zohak Piurasp."³ Edrisi also says the same thing. He says: "La plus antique ville de l' Irâc (c.a.d. Babil) . . . fut bâtie par Zohak."⁴

Again, just as there is some similarity, between the names of the founder and the city founded by him, in the case of Bel and Babylon, so there is a similarity in the case of Zohâk and Bâwri or Bâwir, the Avesta or the Pahlavi name of Babylon. One of the names of Zohâk is Baêvarasp, of which the Piurasp of Ebn Haukal, above referred to, is a corruption. So Baêvarasp, the Pahlavi name of the founder, resembles a good deal, Bâwri and Bawir, the Avesta and the Pahlavi names of the city.

Now, the ruins of Babylon, which Capt. Frederick describes in this paper, and which Rennel, whom he quotes in his paper, had described before him, are known as the ruins of Hillah or Hilleh. Hillah is a modern town, and as Kinneir says,⁵ "it covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient capital of Assyria" The Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân or "The cities of Iran," calls it Hirleh ^{هیرله} and says, that it was founded by Narsi of the Ashkânians.⁶ According to Kinneir⁷, "we learn from St. Jerome that the space within the walls was converted by the Parthian kings into a royal hunting park." This statement of St. Jerome, then, is supported by the Pahlavi treatise.

¹ Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatroihâ-i-Airân and Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Sistân, p. 75.

² Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard, I. p. 78.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 70.

⁴ Géographie d'Edrisi, traduite par Jaubert, II., pp. 160-161.

⁵ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 269.

⁶ Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zariran, p. 73. The Pahlavi text of Dastur Jamaspji, p. 20, s. 23.

⁷ Persian Empire, p. 27.

Transactions, L. S., B., I., pp. 206—213. 6th July 1813.

The urns, referred to in this paper, were sent to Mr. Erskine, by Mr. Bruce from Bushire in February 1813. My attention was drawn to this paper, in 1888, when an urn, or rather a box, similar, though not of the same kind, was sent to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Joseph Malcolm of Bushire, through Mr. C. J. Michael of Bombay. I had made an inquiry at the time, and had found, that the urns, referred to by Mr. Erskine, did not exist in the Museum of our Society. The urn, presented to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, has passed into the hands of our Society, when that Society transferred, in 1896, its place of work, and with that, its museum, to the rooms of our Society.

Erskine refers to several classical authors, who speak of the custom of the disposal of the dead among the ancient Persians, and concludes, that these urns were the receptacles of the bones of some ancient Persians. He says : " From these quotations, it seems evident that the Persians in very remote times did not universally follow the mode of sepulture now in use by their descendants, the followers of Zertûst; but that, after the birds or dogs had torn part of their bodies, the remains were wrapped up and consigned to the earth."¹ He then concludes by saying : " I am of opinion that the urns in question contained the bones of Persians, whose bodies were deposited in them while the usages described by Herodotus and the commentator on the Desâtêr were in force, before the whole of Persia was reduced to a strict observance of the religion of Zertûst. In such inquiries, however, there is always considerable uncertainty, particularly when the inquiry relates to a country in which there were so many obscure heresies as there appear to have been in Persia at various eras of its history."²

I would refer my readers to a paper by me on the same subject, entitled "A Persian coffin (Astodân) said to be 3,000 years old, sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire,"³ read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. I have referred there to Mr. Erskine's paper, and treated the subject at some length, on the authority of the Avesta and Pahlavi books. The custom, which led to the construction of these urns, is thus referred to there : "The custom, as described in the Vendidad, was this, that the body of a dead person was exposed on the top of a hill to the full rays of the sun and to birds of prey. The birds ate away the flesh, but the bones

¹ Transaction, L. S., B., I., p. 210.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212. Such urns were also found at Bussorah and elsewhere. *Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 12. *Vide*, in the Babylonian and Oriental Record of 1890, Dr. Casartelli's article entitled "Astodans, and the Avestic funeral prescriptions."

³ *Journ. of the Anthropol. Soc. of Bom.*, Vol. I., No. 7, pp. 426-441, read 29th August 1888.

were preserved uninjured by fastening the dead body. After a certain time, probably a year, the bones, which had by this time become perfectly dry and free from any impurity that could be a source of danger to the health of the living, were collected and placed in a receptacle, specially prepared for the purpose, of stone, mortar or clay, or in case of extreme poverty, of coarse cloth. This receptacle was known as an Astôdân (اسٽوڊان lit: "a keeper of bones" from اسٽوڊ to keep) Fr. os., Pers. استخوان bone and اسٽوڊ to keep) i.e., an ossuary."¹

I happened to see, when in Paris in 1889, some similar urns in the Dieulafoy Collection at the Musée du Louvre. Those urns formed the subject of a paper, which I read at the Institute of Paris, before "L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres" at its meeting of 30th October 1889, under the title of "Quelques Observations sur les Ossuaires rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et déposés au Musée du Louvre."²

Almost all the European translators³ of the Avesta, except Dr. Geiger, have not properly understood the passages of the Vendidad (Ch. VI, 49—51), where we see an enjoinder for the preservation of the bones. The discovery of these urns has thrown good light upon these passages. Our Bombay scholars have correctly understood the passages. Mr. K. R. Cama, in his articles in his Jartoshti Abhyâs on a similar subject, entitled અમલકા ઇશતીઆ શુ' ઇબર કરતા હતા and અસતેદાન,⁴ has clearly referred to the custom of Astodâns.

Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 63—108. Read 30th September 1817.

Looking to the time, when it was written, this paper presents an excellent bird's-eye view of the Persian literature. The editor of the second edition of the *Transactions* said of it in 1877: "Even now persons desirous of obtaining a general view of Persian literature may peruse it with profit."⁵ The latest best book on the subject, which treats of Persian literature up to the time of Firdousi, which one can read with great profit, and which treats the subject very exhaustively, is "A Literary History of Persia, from the earliest times until Firdawsî," by Mr. Edward G. Browne (1902). The

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 434. ² *Vide* the Report of the Academy of "Séance, du 30 Octobre 1889."

³ I remember having discussed these passages, at some length, with the late Prof. Darmesteter at Paris in 1889, when writing there, the above paper for the Académie. This learned translator has changed, since then, in the second edition of his *Vendidad* (S. B. E. IV), his translation of the above passages.

⁴ અસતેદાન અભિપ્રાય, અ'ક ૩ અને ૬. No. III, pp. 128—142. No. VI, pp. 337—341.

For some similar urns of other people, *vide* the Report of the proceedings of the meeting of our Society on 17th November 1883. *Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. V, p. 398.*

Transactions. L. S., B., (1877) II, p. 108.

author promises us a second volume, treating of the authors after Firdousi. The first volume is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, as it treats of the ancient literature of the country. He calls it "the Prolegomena," while the second volume will be, as he says, "The History of Persian Literature within the strict meaning of the term." (Preface p. IX.)

As the author of our paper says : "Few subjects have occasioned a greater variety of opinions than the real merits of Persian literature."¹ Looking to the circumstances of public and private life in a country, ruled by despotic rulers, he considers the literary productions of the country to be tolerably good. He says : "In a country, then, where virtue has been banished from public and private life, where even its semblance is not required, and where the softer feelings are unknown, few can be the noble actions which deserve to be recorded in the pages of the historian, and few the themes which can inspire the strains of the poet."²

Capt. Kennedy divides Persian Prose Literature into four parts—1 Historical, 2 Theological including Jurisprudence, 3 Philosophical, and 4 Didactic.

As to the first division, he says, that there are many causes "which must have prevented the composition, in Persia, of any work which could in every respect deserve the name of History."³ Bigotry, despotism, want of thorough education and such other causes make the histories of the Persians mere annals. Unity is wanting from their historical works, because "from the battle of Nehavend in A.D. 641, to the conquest of Khorasan by Shah Ismail Sefi in A.D. 1510, the whole of Persia was never united under the government of one sovereign."⁴ "In attempting, then, to describe these rapid revolutions" resulting from such a state of affairs "no abilities could enable an author to give his subject that unity which is the greatest beauty of history."⁵

As the best historical works, most esteemed in Persia, our author names 1 the *Târikh-i-Tabari* of Muhammad ben Jurair ul Tabari (A. D. 838-923), 2 the *Tarikh Guzideh* (1329 A. D.) of Hamdalla Mustufi, 3 the *Rouzet-us Safa* of Mirkhond (died A. D. 1497), and 4 the *Habib-us Seir* (A. D. 1527) of Ghaias-ud-deen ben Muhammad Amir Khawend (Mirkhond).

As to the second class of prose works, *viz.*, the theological, Capt. Kennedy refers his readers to the Dissertation and Notes of Sale's Koran and to the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.⁶

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., II, p. 63. ² *Ibid*, p. 65. ³ *Ibid*, p. 66. ⁴ *Ibid*. ⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ "Bibliothèque Orientale ou Dictionnaire Universel, contenant tout ce qui fait connaître les peuples de l'Orient," par M. D'Herbelot.

Of the third class of works, *vis.*, the philosophical, he says, that they are mostly translations of Greek writers, and agrees with M. Langlès' opinion, expressed in his edition of Chardin's "Voyage en Perse" that, in translation, the originals have undergone a great change. However, "the Persians in all their argumentative writings display great clearness and acuteness of judgment, and express themselves with the greatest conciseness and perspicuity."¹

As to the last class of works, *vis.*, the didactic, our author thinks, that, with all their faults, they "breathe, in general, the noblest and purest sentiments; and their application is illustrated and enforced by the most pleasing and apposite tales."²

Then, coming to poetry, he describes the three kinds of Persian poetry, 1 the Gazal, 2 the Kasideh, and 3 the Masnavi, and then gives the names of the poets who have made their names in their respective lines.

Kennedy then says: "If quantity were excellence, the Persians would be the best poets in the universe; for they are all naturally addicted to poetry; and in the *Atishkedah* are enumerated upwards of seven hundred poets, commencing from Rudeki, who died A.D. 1013, and whose verses alone are said to amount to six hundred thousand couplets. But it is to be regretted that, as the rules of criticism and the delicacy of correct taste have never been studied in Persia, the improvement has not equalled the cultivation of its poetry."³

I would here draw the attention of my readers to Professor Darmesteter's views on "The origin of poetry."⁴ It gives a succinct history of its origin and rise.

From the fact, that we have no Pahlavi poem extant, a question has been asked, at times, whether poetry was composed in Persia before Islāmism. Kennedy gives the following anecdote, related by Doulut Shah, the author of the "Lives of the Poets," to show that it was composed before Islāmism. Kennedy says:—

"From the following circumstance, it will also be known that poetry was composed in Persia before Islamism. One day when Amir Abdulla Taher,⁵ the Governor of Khorasan under the Abbassieh Kaliphs, was giving audience, a person laid before him a book, as a rare and valuable present. He asked, 'What book is this?' The man replied, 'It is the story of Wamek and Ozara, a singular and wonderful tale, which was composed by learned men on account of Anushirwan⁶ who was

¹ Trans, L. S., B., II., p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ "The Origin of Persian Poetry," translated from the French of Prof. J. Darmesteter by Nasarwānji Frāmji Tamboli, 1888.

⁵ He was the first king of the Taheride Dynasty. He was the son of Taher and a general of Khalif Mamoun, the son of Haroun Al-Raschid and the last of the Khalifs.

⁶ Chosroes I.

renowned and celebrated in every country for his equity and justice.' The Amir observed : ' We are the readers of the holy Koran, and we read nothing except that sacred volume and the traditions of the prophet, and such accounts as relate to him, and we have therefore no use for these kind of books. They are, besides, the composition of infidels and the productions of worshippers of fire and are therefore to be rejected and contemned by us.' He then ordered the book to be thrown into the water, and issued his command that whatever books could be found in the kingdom which were the composition of the infidels of Persia, should be immediately burnt."¹

The book, referred to in the anecdote, was a book of poetry in Pahlavi.²

Tradition carries the origin of Persian poetry of the Sassanians, to times even older than that of Noshirwân. It attributes to Behram Gour (Behram V.) and his mistress Dil-Ârâm, the composition of poetry to express their mutual love.³ But, going to times earlier than the Sassanians, we have "the famous Gâthas of the Zend Avesta, rythmical sermons which breathe irreproachable morals and which offer all the poetic interest of a catechism."⁴

Comparing the European divisions of poetry with the Persian divisions, Kennedy, at first, startles us by saying, that, "according to the most received rules of criticism, no epic poem has ever been produced in Persia,"⁵ and then, with some hesitation, considers the first two volumes of the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi "as strictly epic."⁶

On this point, I would refer my readers to M. Mohl's excellent preface to his "Livre des Rois," for his views on the Shâh-nâmeh as an epic.

Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 115—162. 31st March 1818.

Even after a lapse of 87 years, this paper presents a very interesting reading, if not for any new facts, at least for the eloquence, with which it pleads for the cause of Persian writers on the history of Persia, and for the words of caution, which it utters, for those, who may be disposed to take the statement of Greek writers as gospel truth in the matter of Persian history. Capt. Kennedy is of opinion, that Greek writers,

—and among them Herodotus, also,—were led away, to a certain extent, by their love of their country, by their patriotism, which made them

"Remarks on the chronology of Persian History previous to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great." By Capt. Vans Kennedy.

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., II, p. 77.

² "The Origin of Persian Poetry," translated from the French of Prof. Darmesteter by Mr. N. F. Tamboli (1888), p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ Transactions, L. S., B., II., p. 105. ⁶ *Ibid.*

give an exaggerated view of Greek victories and Persian defeats. Again, their statements about the manners and customs of the people were based, not so much on personal knowledge, as on second-hand information.

On the first point, referred to here by Capt. Kennedy, I may draw the attention of my readers to the excellent work of a Parsee author, Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai, on the history of the Achemenian kings. Therein, the author tries to point out, how Greek accounts are exaggerated to a certain extent. As to the second point, referred to by Captain Kennedy, it is true, that the information acquired by Herodotus is second-hand. So, evidently, there are some mistakes here and there. But, still, a large number of statements are corroborated by other native sources. I would refer my readers to my work in Gujarâti, entitled "કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ, હોરોદોતસ અને સ્ટ્રાબો મુજબ.", i.e., "The Ancient Persians, according to Herodotus and Strabo." Therein, I have tried to show, how far the picture of the ancient Persians, as presented by Herodotus and Strabo, agrees with, or differs from that presented by the Avesta.

Sir William Jones, the learned and ever-to-be remembered founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society, "the prince and the pioneer of the British Orientalists" in India,¹ as Dr. Wilson called him, and others, had tried to compare the Achemenian kings, mentioned by Herodotus and others, with the Kiânian kings, mentioned by Firdousi, Tabari and others.

Capt. Kennedy² says, that the kings of the Peshdâdian dynasty, beginning with Kaiumars and ending with Gushtâsp, as described by Firdousi and others, were the same, as the kings of the Medes, beginning with Arbakes and ending with Kuaxares, as described by Ctesias, Herodotus and Xenophon, but that the Kiânian kings of the Persian writers, were not the same, as the Persian kings of the Greek writers, as asserted by Sir William Jones, who said: "For I shall then only doubt that the Khosrou of Ferdusi was the Cyrus of the first Greek historian, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze and Lewis the Fourteenth were one and the same French king."³ Some of those, who supported Sir W. Jones, said, "that (in the Shah-namah) we find events, which occurred on the banks of the Euphrates, often transferred to those of the Oxus"⁴ and that "taking this view of the life of Kaikhosrou, we may pronounce that the transfer of a scene from the court of Ecbatana to that of the capital of Afrasiab, and the substitution of the latter king for the sovereign of Media, are liberties which it was natural for the poet to take."⁵

¹ Journal, B. E., R. A. Society, IV, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³ Transactions, L. S., B., II, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Subsequent researches of scholars have shown, that both Capt. Kennedy and Sir W. Jones were wrong, in their respective identifications—a partial identification by Kennedy and a complete one by Sir W. Jones—of the Persian kings of Firdousi with the Median and Persian kings of the Greek authors. They have also shown, that Firdousi has taken no liberty, such as that attributed to him by Sir W. Jones and his school, *vis.*, that of transferring events from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Oxus, and of substituting Afrasiâb for the sovereign of Media. The study of the Avesta has shown, that Firdousi has taken no liberty—neither for the field of action nor for the names of the actors—but has faithfully followed older authorities. Again, the Pahlavi treatises of the Kârnâme-h-i-Ardeshir Bâbegân and of the Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, show, that Firdousi had authentic materials for his work.

I will quote here, what I have said on the subject, in the preface to my “Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, &c.”

“In the introduction to his Shâh-nâme Firdousi says:—‘The narrative has been already described. Nothing worth mentioning has been left unsaid. I will narrate what has been already narrated. What I narrate, has been completely narrated. All have travelled over the garden of knowledge. . . . There was a book of ancient times, which contained many episodes. It was scattered in the hands of different Mobads. Every learned man had a fragment of it with him. There was a Pehelwân of the family of the Dehkâns. He was brave, noble, wise, and generous. He was fond of collecting materials for the history of ancient times. So, he called aged Mobads from all parts of the country and collected the historical work. . . . These great men narrated before him the accounts of the kings and of the events of the world. When that great man heard from them the narratives, he laid on them the foundation of a great book. Thus (the work) became a memoir (Yâdgâr)¹ in the world, and the high and the low praised him.’ What Firdousi meant to say in this passage was this: That he had historical materials to work upon for his great work, that he had several memoirs to dwell upon for his great book. This is more than illustrated by the Ayâdgâr-i-Zarirân, which is one of the Pahlavi memoirs (Yâdgâr) referred to by him. We find, that in his Shâh-nâme, not only materials and thoughts, but even words in some places are borrowed from the Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân.”

Firdousi and other Persian historians have been ably defended by Capt. Kennedy in this article. M. Mohl, the French editor and translator of the Shâh-nâme, has subsequently more ably defended Firdousi

¹ چنان یادگاری شد اندر جهان بدو آفرین از کسان و مهان

in his learned preface to his "*Livre des Rois*." His further studies have enabled him, to add the following, in his preface to the fourth volume :—

"Plus on étudiera l'œuvre de Firdousi, plus on se convaincra, je crois, qu' il n'a rien inventé, et qu' il s'est contenté de revêtir de son brillant coloris les traditions qui formaient l' histoire populaire de la Perse." (M. Mohl, IV. Préface, p. ii.)

Now, Capt. Kennedy, in his attempt to defend the authenticity of native Persian writers against Greek writers, touches the question of the ostracism of the Achemenian kings from the *Shâh-nâmeh* of Firdousi in another way. He ridicules the attempt of Sir W. Jones and others, who in their turn have followed an ancient writer, like Ammianus Marcellinus, to identify the Kiânian kings like Kaikhosru and Gushtâsp with the Achemenian kings like Cyrus¹ and Darius Hystaspes. But then, how to account for the omission of even the names of these Achemenian kings from the *Shâh-nâmeh* of Firdousi ? He says, that these kings were simply Persian generals in Asia Minor, who invaded Egypt, Greece and Scythia, and that they were intentionally exalted to the dignity of kings by the Greek authors. He says :—

"The only events indeed which are described, and which can be considered of importance sufficient to have rendered them generally remembered, are the invasions of Egypt by Cambysis ; of Scythia by Darius, and of Greece by Xerxes ; for it must be always recollected that such transactions as occurred in Asia Minor, and which are so minutely dwelt upon by Grecian writers, could never have been subjects of the slightest interest to the Persian people. The proper kingdom of Persia was situated to the east of the Euphrates, and appears from every account to have most materially differed in customs, manners, and religion from all the petty nations that were situated to the west of that river. In process of time, these nations, as well as Egypt, were conquered, and became dependencies of the Persian Empire ; but they still remained entirely distinct in population, manners, and religion. No intermixture seems ever to have taken place between them and the Persians, and even the intercourse between the two peoples seems not at any time to have been frequent. These dependencies might, therefore, form honourable and desirable governments for the Persian nobles and for their immediate officers ; but the transactions which occurred in them were not likely to attract the general attention of the Persian nation, and thus to become the theme of history, or the subject of a popular tale.

¹ Prof. Eugène Wilhelm's paper, entitled "*La Patrie et L'Origine de Cyrus (1889)*," is worth reading, as it suggests new thoughts about the country of Cyrus.

"To these obvious reasons I think it must be attributed, that no particulars of the Persian victories to the west of the Euphrates have been preserved in the remaining fragments of Persian History; but that the Persian Empire extended over Asia Minor, Egypt, and even part of Africa and Europe, is affirmed in general terms by many a native writer. It is therefore evident, that as the Grecian historians are almost entirely occupied in detailing events which did not affect or interest the whole of the Persian people, and which were consequently omitted or overlooked by their historians, no similarity can be expected to exist in accounts that proceed on such different principles."¹

"It may, then, be conjectured that these invasions were never led by a Persian king in person; and that even the invading armies were merely composed of troops levied in the dependent States; and that but a very small part of them on any occasion ever consisted of Persian soldiers. . . . The celebrated invasion of Xerxes may therefore have been only an expedition similar to that of Darius and Artabanus, but in much greater numbers, and not improbably reinforced by troops detached from Persia Proper, and the whole commanded by some chief of such rank and importance as to induce the Greeks to honour him with the name of king."²

Well, Capt. Kennedy wrote all this, at a time, when the cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis and elsewhere had not seen the full blaze of the daylight of researches. Grotefend had just begun the work. These inscriptions show, that Xerxes and Darius Hystaspes were not mere Persian generals exalted to the dignity of kings, but were real kings of kings (*khshâyathia khshâyathiyânâm*. Behistun I—1) who had conquered a great part of the then civilized world.

I may here draw the attention of my readers to an article on a similar subject, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, entitled "The Ostracism of the Achemenides from the Pahlavi works and the Shâhnâmeh" by Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai.³ The author, in his interesting article, attributes the omission to nothing else than the "ignorance of later writers." This subject is still one of those in the history of Persia, which are not satisfactorily settled. I am, however, inclined to think, that the Achemenides referred to by the classical authors and by the inscriptions, and the Kiânians, referred to by Firdousi, were contemporary dynasties, the former ruling in the west of Persia, and the latter in the east in Bactria.

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., II. pp. 136-37. ² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³ "The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume," edited by me (1900 A. D.), pp. 27-29.

As to Capt. Kennedy's views, that the Greeks exaggerated facts to an undue extent, there is no doubt. A visit to the classical battlefield of Marathon, even now, about 2,400 years after the battle, would show to an intelligent person, that, there is somewhat of an exaggeration and one-sided view, even in the history of a writer like Herodotus. I had the pleasure of paying a visit to this classical battlefield, on 22nd November 1889, and when there, with the help of an intelligent guide and with the help of what I had read, I soon found, that, in order to give a little colour to the fame of his own countrymen, Herodotus had not mentioned all the facts which would go in favour of the Persians.¹

As to the question of the chronology itself of ancient Persian history, I think, that what the late Mr. Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik wrote in 1876 as the editor of the second edition of the journal, is still true, that "this part of Persian history is now just as uncertain as in Col. Vans Kennedy's time."

Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 180-204. 30th June 1818.

As the Editor of the second edition of this volume says, "this article is valuable as showing with what difficulties scholars had to contend at the time it was written, and how much they were in the dark even in the manner of reading, not to say understanding the meaning of characters, the decipherment of which had then just been attempted."² Various scholars have, since the above was written, visited the spots of the inscriptions, and have added to, and well nigh perfected, the reading and the understanding of the inscriptions. There are still some words, here and there, about the reading of which, there is a difference of opinion and doubt. The latest among the visitors of the Behistun rock inscriptions is Prof. Jackson of the Columbia College of New York, who visited the rock in April 1903. He has described his visit in a paper in the journal of the American Oriental Society.⁴ A good deal of new light on some doubtful points in the inscriptions is expected from Prof. Jackson's further studies on the subject.

The discovery and the decipherment of these Irānian cuneiform inscriptions, have thrown a good deal of light upon the history of the Achemenian kings of Persia, whose account of Herodotus, was, here

¹ For my impressions of the battlefield of Marathon, *vide* my शात मसराङ्क विषये, (Lectures before the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, 1898), pp. 274-82.

² Transactions, L. S., B., II (1876), p. 162, Editor's note. ³ Transactions, L. S., B., II, p. 204.

⁴ Vol. XXIV (1903), pp. 77-95. "The Great Behistun rock and some Results of a Re-examination of the old Persian Inscriptions on it."

- and there, doubted by some subsequent writers. For example, in the very volume of our journal, which contains this article of Bellino, we find¹ Capt. Kennedy doubting, in his article above referred to, most of what Herodotus says. As the latest instance of how the cuneiform inscriptions throw some fresh light upon some of the statements of Herodotus, we find the discovery of the Persepolitan column known as the "Column of Chalouf." Herodotus² said, that King Darius had completed the canal, which connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, and which was, some time ago, dug by Necho. Now, this statement was doubted by some. But the discovery of the above column, about 40 years ago, has shown, that Herodotus was in the right. It has been found, that the canal of Darius ran well nigh parallel to the modern Suez Canal for half its way. Rawlinson³ has given a short inscription of Darius found on a stone discovered at Suez. But since that time, well nigh the whole column has been discovered and the inscription on it deciphered. I would refer my readers to an excellent treatise on the subject, entitled "La Stèle de Chalouf" by M. Joachim Menant, who is mentioned in the editor's note attached to Mr. Bellino's article in the second edition.⁴

Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 312-361. 27th April 1819.

The author of this paper divides his subject into four parts—

"On the Sacred Books and Religion of the Persia." in a letter from William Erskine, Esq., to Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm.

- I. The Ancient Languages of Persia.
- II. Comparative credibility of the Greek and Persian historians.
- III. The tenets of the modern Zoroastrians.
- IV. The antiquity of their particular doctrines and observances.

The author's remarks on the first part of his subject, *vis.*, "The Ancient Languages of Persia" are not of much value. On the origin of the Zend language he says : "It is altogether Sanskrit⁵ . . . The Zend was either the Suraseni, or some other cultivated dialect of the Sanscrit, or that it was an Indian dialect spoken by some nation or tribe of Hindu origin, to the east or north-east of Persia, and adopted, perhaps in its natural state, but more probably with some changes, as the sacred language of the country."⁶ On the subject of its antiquity he says : "We cannot fairly give the Zend writings a higher antiquity than the age of the Sasânis."⁷

¹ Transactions II, p. 115. *Vide supra* pp. 171-72.

² Bk. II, 158; IV, 39. ³ Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol X, Part III (1846), p. 313.

⁴ *Vide* my *शान प्रसंग विषय* (Dnyân Prasāṅg Essays), pp. 92-104 for this subject.

⁵ Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 316.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Now, all these views of Erskine have been proved to be incorrect. He had not sufficient materials to form correct views. As he himself says, the knowledge, which scholars then "possessed of the ancient languages of Persia", was "very limited."¹ The only materials, on which he seems to have founded his views, were the Ferheng-i-Jehangiri, Hyde's *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia*, Anquetil's *Zend Avesta*, Sir W. Jones's *Asiatic Researches* and some memoirs of Anquetil before the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris. So, the conclusions he came to, on these scanty materials, were faulty.

As Prof. MaxMüller says, "Rask was the first, who, with the materials collected by Du Perron and himself, analysed the language of the Avesta scientifically. He proved—

1. That Zend was not a corrupted Sanskrit, as supposed by W. Erskine, but that it differed from it as Greek, Latin or Lithuanian differed from one another and from Sanskrit.

2. That the modern Persian was really derived from Zend as Italian was from Latin; and

3. That the Avesta, or the works of Zoroaster, must have been reduced to writing at least previously to Alexander's conquest. The opinion that Zend was an artificial language (an opinion held by men of great eminence in Oriental Philology, beginning with Sir W. Jones) is passed over by Rask as not deserving of refutation."²

It appears from a memoir of his literary life, read by the late Dr. Wilson, before our Society, on 15th July 1852, under the title of "Brief Memorial of the Literary Researches of the late William Erskine, Esq."³ that Erskine was "ultimately led to change" his views, on perceiving the philological researches of Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, and others."⁴

In the second part of his subject, Erskine says: "very ingenious attempts have been indeed made to place the authority of the Oriental historians above that of the writers of Greece and Rome."⁵ Here, he seems to take up cudgels against the views, expressed before the Society, in a previous year, by Capt. Vans Kennedy,⁶ though he does not name him. Capt. Kennedy attached a great deal of importance, in point of veracity, to Persian authors like Tabari,

¹ *Ibid*, p. 313.

² MaxMüller's *Chips from a German Workshop* (2nd ed. 1880). Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

³ *Journal*, B. B., R. A. S., IV., pp. 276-284. *Vide* below p. 321. ⁴ *Ibid*, p. 280.

⁵ *Transactions*, L. S., B., II, p. 320.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 115-162. *Vide* above pp. 171-76.

- Firdousi and others, and doubted the veracity of Greek authors like Herodotus, Xenophon and others. Mr. Erskine, on the other hand, runs down the Persian and supports the Greek historians. We have
- said above ¹ that Capt. Kennedy had, to a certain extent, overshot the mark, the reason being, that he had not before him the Achemenian Inscriptions, which were then just being deciphered. The same is the case with Mr. Erskine, who overshoots the mark, in fighting for the classical writers and in running down authors like Firdousi, the reason being, that he had not before him, all the Pahlavi literature, the semi-historical portion of which, has supplied sufficient proofs for the authenticity of the materials, upon which Firdousi had worked. As to the Avesta itself, it is true, that he had Anquetil's translation before him, but sufficient time had not elapsed since its publication, to have sufficient light thrown upon the historical references in it.

Nobody is more entitled to speak on the subject of Firdousi with great authority than M. Mohl, the famous French editor and translator of the Shâhnâmeh, and we have quoted above (p. 174) his views of the question. Even making allowances for the fact, that editors and translators are, at times, a little partial to the merits of their authors, we find, that there is sufficient of, what we should call, "outside evidence"—evidence based on the Avesta and Pahlavi books—to show, that Firdousi had kept his poetic imagination in due restraint and had rested upon authentic materials.

In the third part of his subject, *vis.*, the tenets of the modern Zoroastrians, Erskine gives a picture of the religious and social life of the Parsees. This picture is faulty in several points. We will briefly allude here to some of his incorrect statements.

1. He says : " Their reverence for the elements makes them careful in no manner to defile them. No impurity is allowed to be thrown into the fire or the water. None of them are smiths, though prevented by no positive injunction ; they never extinguish any light, nor do they enlist as sepoys, pretending that they dare not defile fire by the use of fire-arms. In the great fire in Bombay in 1803, they stood for a long time idle, witnessing the progress of the flames ; but when they found them continuing to spread, to the ruin of their houses and property, their interest got the better of their scruples, and many of them wrought with great alacrity both in procuring water and in helping to extinguish the fire." ²

Now, we have strong reasons to say, that this picture is far from correct. It was on the 13th of November 1902, that Mr. Goudinho,

¹ *Vide* above p. 175.

² Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 349-50.

whom I had the pleasure of introducing to this Society, read a paper before it, entitled "Portuguese Documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries relating to Parsees." The paper has, unfortunately not been published in our journal, on the ground, as alleged at the meeting, where it was read and where I was present, that the paper was not original, and contained merely a translation of several old Portuguese documents. I beg to submit, that the Portuguese documents are of some historical importance, not only from a Parsee point of view, but from the point of view of the war, then raging, between the Portuguese and the Marathas; and so, they ought to have been printed in the journal of the Society, for a future reference for some historical facts. However, the Portuguese text of these documents has been published in the local Portuguese paper, *Anglo-Lucitano*.¹ These Portuguese documents show, that the Parsees had no scruples to serve as soldiers, on account of the veneration, in which they held fire. They had served, not only as soldiers, under the Portuguese in the years 1738 and 1739, but had also offered their services as volunteers to their Portuguese rulers. They had raised a special company of their own as volunteers, and two of them were made ensign and captain. While serving thus as soldiers, they did use fire-arms.

2. Again, as to Erskine's allegation, that they hesitated to extinguish the great fire of 1803 until the time when their own houses and property were in danger, we find from Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel's *Parsee Prakāsh*,² that about 200 houses of the Parsees were actually burned at the time. Mr. Patel gives a long list of the Parsees whose houses were burned. So, it is not possible to believe that a large number of Parsee homeowners actually waited and watched and allowed their properties to be burned.

The *Desatir*, which Mr. Erskine himself had translated from the text of Mulla Feroze, in 1818, *i.e.*, one year before he read this paper, clearly permits the extinction of fires by water.

It says: "Reverence the four elements, yet do not therefore lay thyself under constraint.

Commentary Although fire is the great illuminator in cases of necessity, you may extinguish it, but it must be with water."³

¹ *Vide* its issues of 13th and 27th December 1902 and 3rd, 10th and 24th January 1903.

² Vol. I., p. 882.

³ The *Desatir* or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets, by Mulla Firuz bin Kaus (1818), Vol. II., pp. 67-68. The Book of Shet, the Prophet of Yasān. (" *Va hamchunin ba gāh-i-nāchāri ūrā bāyad faru nishānd*"), The Gujarati *Desatir* of 1848, p. 129, Bomanjee Hātaria's edition of 1887, p. 93.

I wonder, how, in spite of this injunction, in a book, which he himself had translated, Mr. Erskine says in the present paper, that the Parsees did not extinguish fires by water.

3. Take another instance of Mr. Erskine's picture. He says : " The dead body is dressed in clean but old clothes, and conveyed to the place of exposure on an iron bier ; for wood being the aliment of fire, it might, if wooden, be accidentally burned, and so the element of fire defiled."¹ Now, the fact, as stated by Erskine is correct, but the reason given is imaginary. The Parsees do not use wood in their biers, in the construction of their towers, and in anything, with which the dead bodies are likely to come into contact, because, wood being porous, it is likely that it may at times contain germs of disease and so may spread infection.

4. Take another statement of Mr. Erskine, which has misguided many a careless writer about the Parsees. He says : " They watch the corpse, to see on which eye the vulture first seizes : if on the right eye, it is a fortunate sign."² Any ordinary visitor at the towers, if he were to look at a funeral, would say, that this statement is all imaginary, because nobody, not even the closest relations or friends, are allowed to go into the towers. So, how can they watch the alleged thing ?

5. Again he says : " They place meat and drink near the body for three days, as during that time the soul is supposed to hover around in hopes of being re-united to it."³ Now, as a matter of fact, the body is never kept in the house for more than one day. Then, how can meat and drink be placed before it ? The statement is all imaginary. What is done, is simply this, that for at least three days, the place in the house, where the corpse was placed for several hours, before being removed to the towers, is set apart, and the living do not pass over the spot for that time. That injunction is given from a sanitary point of view, that, if there be germs of disease hovering there, the living may not catch infection. The only thing placed there, is a few flowers, and a lamp is kept burning there.

6. Again there is another misstatement of Erskine. He says : " The bearers are tied to each other by a piece of tape, to deter, as they allege, by their union the wicked demons who hover round the body from defiling them."⁴ As many must have observed in Bombay, the bearers are not tied to each other, but they simply hold a tape between them. The mourners, who follow the corpse, walking in pairs, similarly hold a handkerchief between them. This is as a mark and symbol of sympathy

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., II., p. 350. ² *Ibid.* p. 351. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 350-51.

and mutual help. I would refer my readers, who want to understand the signification of the funeral ceremonies of the Parsees, to my paper entitled "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay and published in its Journal (Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 405-440).

Coming to the last part of Mr. Erskine's paper, *viz.*, "The Antiquity of the Religious Opinions of the Parsees," Trans. II., p. 355), we find, that in the early part of his paper he brings down the antiquity of the Avesta to the time of Ardeshir Babegân, but places the origin of the existing usages of the Parsees in more ancient times. Now, as to the question of the antiquity of the Avesta, we find, that the question has undergone, as it were, through several phases. There was a time, when Sir William Jones, on the publication of Anquetil Du Perron's works on the Zend Avesta, said, that the Zend Avesta was a mere fabrication of the Parsee priests of India, and that Anquetil was simply duped by the priests of Surat. Sir W. Jones' views were soon exploded. After him, we find Mr. Erskine holding the same view in 1819, that the Avesta, as now extant, belonged to the time of Ardeshir Babegân. This view has long since been exploded by eminent scholars of, what is termed, the Vedic School, by scholars like Benfey, Roth and Haug. But Erskine's view was again lately revived by the late lamented Dr. Darmesteter,¹ who was preceded in these views, to a certain extent, by his learned teacher, M. Bréal. Dr. Darmesteter had, to use the words of the late Prof. Max Müller, "thrown a bomb-shell in the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars."² Prof. Max Müller and Dr. Mills in England, and Prof. Tiele and other scholars in Germany have restored that peace again.

Mr. Erskine's views on the Antiquity of the Avesta, which he brings down to the time of Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I.), have been well refuted by Mr. K. R. Cama in his Jartoshti Abhyâs³ (*i.e.*, Zoroastrian studies). Mr. Cama's principal argument is, that, while reviving the Zoroastrian literature, Ardeshir Babegân had given no instructions to add extraneous or new matter to what had come down traditionally from father to son. Even, if he had given such instructions, the learned of the time had not the ability or power to do so, because the Avesta language was then well nigh dead. That even the most learned of the times, were not capable of writing religious and philosophical subjects in the Avesta language, is proved from the fact, that it appears from some parts of their Pahlavi translations, that

¹ Le Zend Avesta, Tome III, Preface. The Vendidad, S. B. E., Vol. IV, 2nd Ed., Introduction.

² Prof. Max Müller in the "Contemporary Review" of December 1893.

³ No. II., pp. 49-52.

they were not sufficiently able to grasp the original Avesta. So, they have honestly said at times "lâ raôshan," i.e., the particular points are not clear to them.

Mr. Cama's second argument is, that in the Farvardin Yasht of the Avesta, we find no names of personages after the Kiyânian times. This fact shows, that the extant Avesta writings were written before Ardeshir Babegân's time.

I have described and refuted Prof. Darmesteter's views, which re-echo some of Mr. Erskine's views, in a paper, entitled "The Antiquity of the Avesta," read before our Society¹ on 26th June 1896.

Transactions, L. S., B., II, pp. 362-398. 25th May 1819.

The Dabistân and the Desâtîr are two Persian books, which had drawn a good deal of attention of the scholars of Persian literature, history and religion in the early part of the last century. Had it not been for the honoured name of Sir William Jones, "the Columbus of the new Old World of Sanskrit and Persian literature," they would not have perhaps drawn that attention. Sir William Jones attached a good deal of importance to them, especially to the Dabistân, from the historical point of view. In his Asiatic Researches,² he grew enthusiastic over the Dabistân and called its discovery "a fortunate discovery," as dissipating a cloud and casting "a gleam of light in the primeval history of Irân and of the human race" of which he "had long despaired and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter."³ No wonder that Sir W. Jones grew enthusiastic over this newly discovered book, because, it mentioned the rule of some other dynasties over the throne of Persia, previous to the first Peshdâdian dynasty, referred to by Firdousi and other authors.

"On the authenticity of the Desâtîr, with remarks on the account of the Mahabadi religion contained in the Dabistân." In a letter to Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm by William Erskine.

The Dabistân refers to the Desâtîr, as a book sent by God⁴ and as the "Venerable Desâtîr"⁵ and speaks of its language as the "celestial language."⁶ The only copy of this book was found in the possession of Dastur Molla Feroze, whose father, Kâus, is said to have brought it from Persia.⁷

¹ Journal, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-87. This paper has been translated into French and published in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions."

² Vol. II, pp. 43-66. The Sixth Discourse on the Persians, delivered on 19th February 1789.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48. ⁴ The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer (1843), Vol. I., p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷ The Desâtîr (1818) Preface, p. vii.

The text and translation, published in Gujarâtî in 1848 by Mulla Kaikobâd. Preface p. ix.

Sir W. Jones having spoken so enthusiastically of the Dabistan, the Desâtîr, referred to in it, also rose in great estimation, and, as Erskine says, "it now became an object of particular curiosity to discover the Desâtîr . . . and the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq., the late Governor of Bombay, considered himself as supremely fortunate in having at length made the longed-for discovery."¹ Governor Duncan, who knew Persian well, requested Mulla Feroze "to show it to no person whatever, and having undertaken a translation of it, continued to prosecute his work, at intervals, for several years, intending on his return to England to present it to His Majesty as the most valuable tribute which he could bring from the East."²

Even, Marquis of Hastings referred very enthusiastically to its discovery, at the time of his "public visitation of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816."³ Among the literary notices of that year he noticed it as a "literary curiosity."⁴ The Governor, the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, died before finishing his work,⁵ and so, later on, Sir John Malcolm, the next Governor, asked William Erskine to translate the work. Before the translation was published, Erskine took a notice of this "new discovery" in this paper, and ran down the book, and also the Dabistân, over which, Sir W. Jones had grown enthusiastic, as books of not much importance, and as books, throwing very little of authentic light upon the history and religion of ancient Persia.

Mr. Erskine's paper gives an excellent outline of the Desâtîr, and is, even now, worth reading for those, who do not wish to go through the whole book. Again, his views both on the Dabistân and the Desâtîr, are, to a great extent, correct. These books, though very useful in themselves, as they give an outline of the different faiths and beliefs, prevalent at one time or another, do not deserve that enthusiastic importance, which Sir W. Jones sought to attach to them, especially to the Dabistân, from the point of view of the history and religion of ancient Irân.

The Dabistân is not original in much of its contents. I have shown in my paper,⁶ before this Society, entitled "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," that, in its chapter on the Ilâhi Din (Chap. X, Sec. 2), it has copied verbatim, long extracts from Badaoni's Muntakhab-al Tavârikh. In the chapter on "The Religion of Zoroaster" also it has copied a good deal from the Desâtîr.

¹ Transactions, L. S., B., II., p. 368.

² *Ibid.*, p. 369. The Desâtîr (1818 A.D.) Preface, p. viii. The Gujarâti edition of 1848, Preface, p. ix.

³ The Desâtîr (1818 A.D.), I, Preface, p. vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁶ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol XXI, No. LVIII.

- Now, what is it, that the Desâtîr wants to teach us ? It is something, that is Zoroastrian, and something, that is Brahminic and Budhistic. It is, to a certain extent, *sufæistic* in its teachings. It contains the mystic ideas found in Zoroastrianism, Brahminism and Budhism. It is a book of a certain sect of believers, who, now and then, appear in different countries and in different ages, and who look to, what is called, the esoteric, side of things, as opposed to the exoteric, and who look to the mystic side of almost all religions for their elements of belief. Erskine's estimate of the Desâtîr is well nigh correct, when he says :
- "Far from regarding the doctrines of the Desâtîr and the historical narrative of the Dabistân as resting on unexceptionable authority. . . . I consider the whole of the peculiar doctrines ascribed to Mahabad and Hoshang as being borrowed from the mystical doctrines of the Persian Sufis, and from the Ascetic tenets and practices of the Yogis and Sanyasis of India, who drew many of their opinions from the Vedanti School." ¹

Then, as to the time, when these doctrines existed, Erskine says : "I regard them as having had no existence before the time of Azer-Keiwan and his disciples in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir." But, it seems, that though these doctrines may have been reduced to some form much later, they existed in one shape or another, and in one country or another, in much older times. For example, that doctrine of the Desâtîr, which says, that the planets, the fixed stars, the elements, and the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms have their intelligences, their guardian angels, their protectors, that all nature is full of the guardian souls, and that "every genus and every specie has its guardian,"² reminds us of Plato's philosophy about the "Ideas" of things in Nature, and of the Avesta philosophy of the Farôhars.

Sir W. Jones had, as said above, at one time, doubted the authenticity of the Zend Avesta, brought to light by Anquetil Du Perron, and said, that it was a forgery and that Anquetil was duped by the Parsee priests of Surat. His theory was very shortly proved to be wrong. Then, as it were, as the fate would have it, his own turn came next, and his Desatir, to which he attached great importance, as having been referred to in the Dabistân, which he brought to light with a flourish of trumpets in his sixth annual discourse at the Bengal Asiatic Society,³ had to stand the heavy fire of several Oriental scholars, as to whether, it or its language was a forgery or not. Erskine, in this paper, declared its language to be a "late invention."⁴

¹ Transactions, L. S. B., II., p. 393.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 375.

⁴ Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, pp. 43-66.

⁵ Transactions, L. S., II., B., p. 28a.

Mr. Norris followed suit, and in a letter, dated 1st July 1820, published in the *Asiatic Journal*,¹ said that its language was "nothing more than Deri disguised."² After a long philological comparison, he says that "the boasted Mâhâbâdian language which was spoken in Iran long before the establishment of the Pishdâdian monarchy and in which we were to expect the parent of the Sanscrit, the Zend, and the Parsi, is nothing more than a jargon, which was invented, in all probability, by the professors of the faith of Hosheng."³ "As to the time, at which the Desâtir was really written," Mr. Norris hazards a conjecture, that it was "a fabrication of the 7th Century, to have been occasioned by the introduction of the Mohammedan faith into Persia, to have been set up as a rival to the Koran, and to have been intended to counteract the influence of a book which was preferredly received from heaven, and which was likely on that occasion to make a great impression on the minds of the people."⁴

Silvestre de Sacy also followed suit, and in the *Journal de Debats* of February 1821, decided against its antiquity.⁵ William von Schlegel called it a "refined forgery."⁶ In 1843 it found a defender in Anthony Troyer.⁷

I would here draw the attention of my readers, to a very excellent paper by Mr. Sheriârjee Dâdâbhoy Broachâ, a very learned Oriental scholar of our city, entitled "The Desâtir," read before the Oriental Congress at Geneva in 1894, and also read before the Jarthoshti Din-ni-Khol Karnâri Mandli (*i. e.*, Society for enquiring into Zoroastrian studies)⁸ in August and September 1894. The paper is not as yet published in full. It gives an excellent outline of the contents of the Desâtir, and shows, how far its doctrines agree with, or differ from, those of the Avesta. It also shows, on philological grounds, that its language is not old, but very recent. Mr. Sheriarji thus sums up his views :—

"With these few observations—religious, historical and linguistic—on the Desâtir, we will now bring this essay to a close. After a careful examination of the book, we cannot but come to the conclusion that it is erroneous to reckon it as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings. For it is neither coeval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sassanian times, but is decidedly a production of still later

¹ The Asiatic Journal for November 1820, Vol. X, pp. 421-430. Mr. Norris's article is quoted at full length in Mulla Kaikobad's Gujarâti edition of 1848 A.D. Preface, pp. xli-xlvii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 421. The Gujarâti edition of 1848, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 428. The Gujarâti edition, p. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 430. *Ibid.*, The Gujarâti edition, p. 47.

⁵ The Dabistan, by Shea and Troyer. Preface, p. xxxvi. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xix-lxv. *Vide* the printed Report of the Society (1902), pp. 120-24.

times. Although its teaching is professedly antagonistic to the Mosaic, the Christian, the Manikian, the Mazdakian and the Mohammedan doctrines, it does not also wholly agree with all the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. Its tendency is more towards the Hindu, Budhistic and Platonic philosophies. For example, it prohibits the use of animal flesh as food, and encourages asecticism, self-mortification, celibacy and renouncement of the world. Its treatment of the dead body, by washing it with pure and rose-water, interring or burning it, is diametrically opposed to that of Zoroastrianism, to which all these methods are repugnant. It also considerably differs from Zoroastrian writings in points of chronology, mythology, and history; and its so-called *âsmâni* or the celestial language is decidedly a conventional jargon composed of later Pehelvi, Persian, and Hindu dialects. The very syntax of the Desâtir, betrays its later origin. When we consider all these, we cannot reckon it of the category of the reliable orthodox Zoroastrian writings."

I would not call the language of the Desâtir, an intentional forgery, to pass off the author's view in an affected old language. We must note, that it is not the author of the Desâtir himself, who calls its language "*âsmâni*" or heavenly. He writes, what we may generally call, a mystic book, based on *sufeistic* and mystic views of different communities. Such mystic writers always aim at a kind of secrecy in the expression of their doctrines. So, in this book also, the author used, what he thought to be, a mystic dialect, made up from the languages of the different religions, from whom he drew his mystic tenets.

Transactions, L. S., B., III, pp. 1-55. Read 31st August 1819.

This paper presents "an inquiry . . . into the actual state of Persia during the 557 years which elapsed between the conquest of Alexander and the rise of Ardashir Babegân," undertaken with a view that it "may possibly contribute to the rectification of some errors which have been admitted into ancient history."¹ Some of

"Remarks on the state of Persia from the battle of Arbela in A.C. 331 to the rise of Ardashir Babegân in A.D. 226." By Major Vans Kennedy.

these errors, which Kennedy proposes to rectify, are the following :—

I. "The supposition, that the Parthians were not Persians, and that they had attempted to extirpate the religion of Zoroaster."²

II. The supposition "that the Hindoos might have derived much of their science from the Greeks of Bactriana."³

¹ Transactions, L. S., B. III., p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ Transactions, L. S., B. III., p. 1.

In his previous paper, entitled "Remarks on the Chronology of Persian History previous to the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great,"¹ Major Kennedy ran down the ancient Greek and Roman classical writers and extolled the native Mahomedan writers, in matters appertaining to history. In this paper, he finds fault with the classical authors, even in the matter of their geographical knowledge. In support of his previous contention, *vis.*, that the ancient classical authors were not authentic and correct, he quotes Strabo, and his quotation is worth noting here, to guide modern students, not to place implicit confidence in everything, that the classical authors say, and not to take all, that they say, as Gospel truth. Strabo, as quoted by Kennedy, says :—

"But neither has the truth respecting the Messagætæ been ascertained by any author, nor can even much credit be given to what any authors have related of the ancient history of the Persians, Medes, and Syrians, on account of their simplicity and love of fable ; for, observing, that the writers of fables were highly honoured, they too thought that they would render their works agreeable, if, under the form of history, they related what they never had seen or heard ; and on this account they studied only how to communicate wonder and pleasure : for one would sooner give credit to the heroic numbers of Hesiod, Homer, and the tragic poets, than to Ctesias, Herodotus, Hellanicus and similar writers. Nor is it altogether safe to trust the most part of the authors who have written concerning Alexander : for they exaggerate both on account of the glory of Alexander, and of the difficulty there is in refuting relations of events which occurred at the extremity of Asia." ²

Then, as to "the geographical accounts of Persia which have been given by Greek writers,"³ Kennedy proceeds to show, that they "are far from correct, as, when carefully examined, they do not agree with each other, and as they are not only inconsistent with the opinions of the natives, but also with probability."⁴

As an illustration of this want, on their part, of correct geographical knowledge, Kennedy refers to the case of Strabo and Ptolemy, describing "the Oxus and Jaxartes to have flowed into the Caspian Sea."⁵ Now, the latest views of geographers have shown, that Kennedy was wrong in attributing ignorance to Strabo and Ptolemy, and that the ancient geographers were right. It is true, that the Oxus does not fall at present, into the Caspian, but falls into the sea of Aral. But, modern

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 115-162. *Vide* above pp. 171-76. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 2. This passage of Strabo occurs in his Bk. XI., Ch. VII., 2 and 3. (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of 1856, Vol. II., pp. 240-41).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

geographers have shown, that, at one time, the Oxus did fall into the Caspian.¹

The river Ardvīçura of the Avesta, which some take to be a mythical river, can be identified with the Oxus. Some identify Oxus with the Vehrud² of the Zend Avesta, and take the names of the districts on its banks, "Wakhan, Wakhst and Washgird" to be derived from the word Veh. But the identification of the Ardvīçura with the Oxus seems to be correct. I think, that the very name Ardvīçura may correspond with the name Oxus. Ardvīçura اردویچور may, by shortening the turn of its 'd' و, be read as Arkvīçura اردکویچور. The last ارد ra may have been dropped, as it sometimes happens. The word may be then Arkvīçu. Now, Oxus is said to have derived its name, from one of its great tributaries, the "Aksu." This Aksu seems to be a modified form of Arkvisu, in which the letter "r" is latterly dropped. This Ardvīçura also is spoken of, in the Old Parsee books, as flowing into the sea Vouru-kasha, which is identified with the Caspian.

I. Now, coming to the subject of the first of the two errors, which Kennedy proposes to rectify, *viz.*, that the Parthians were not Zoroastrians³, he enters into the subject, at some length, in this paper. Those who make this supposition, seem to base their assertion, on the belief, that the Parthians were not Persians but Scythians. Strabo calls Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, a Scythian, but at the same time says that, "according to others, he was a Bactrian."⁴ Justin speaks of him as "a man of uncertain origin."⁵

Of the Parthians, Justin says : "The Parthians . . . were originally exiles from Scythia. This is apparent from their very name ; for in the Scythian language exiles are called *Parthi*."⁶

So, it appears, that there has been some difference of opinion, since the very classical times, as to who Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty was. Gibbon⁷ has taken the Parthian kings to be Scythians. Kennedy tries to prove, that they were Persians and not Scythians.

¹ Vide my Essay on Avestic Geography (અવસ્તેના ભૂગોળ) in my (અવસ્તેના જમાનાની ધર્મસંસ્કારી જીવન, ભૂગોળ અને ઐકરાર નીપુ) "Avestic Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith," p. 191. Vide General Walker's article on "Oxus" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, p. 104. ² Encyclopædia Britannica. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ Transactions, L. S. B., III., p. 1.

⁴ The Geography of Strabo, Bk. XI, Ch. IX, 3. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation II, p. 251.

⁵ Justin's History of the World, Bk. XLI, Ch. IV. Revd. Watson's Translation of Justin, Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius (1853), p. 275.

⁶ Justin's Bk. XLI, Ch. I. Revd. Watson's Translation, *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁷ The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. VIII, Edition of 1845, Vol. I, p. 124.

that the few Greeks who were scattered over the wide extent of Persia would assimilate themselves as much as possible to the natives, and that they would by intermarriages become, in the course of the second or third generation, entirely blended and identified with them."¹

"If there be any justice in these remarks, it will follow that Bactriana, after Theodotus in B.C. 255 declared himself independent, cannot in any sense of the word be considered as a Greek kingdom. . . . It is hence by no means improbable that the Bactrian kingdom might have been both extensive and flourishing. But it seems scarcely possible that the Greek troops, who were stationed in Bactriana, could have been in the slightest degree instrumental in diffusing either knowledge or science. It must always be recollected that they were left there in B.C. 327; and that from the remoteness of their situation they were cut off from all communication with Greece. Nor does it appear from any ancient writer, that after Alexander's transient invasion, any other Greek or Syrian army than that of Antiochus the Great ever penetrated into Khorasan. The descendants of the Greeks in Bactria, therefore, could possess no peculiar knowledge except such as they derived from their fathers; and any observation must be superfluous to show that the rude soldier and the as rude officer were little likely to be acquainted with either literature or science. . . . It is most probable that, so far from being able to instruct either the Persians or Indians, they might have derived from them much more information than they could possibly communicate."² It is thus, that Kennedy argues. He then concludes, that it is an erroneous supposition to say, "that the Hindus have derived much of their science from the Greeks of Bactriana."

Now, the question, whether the Greek civilization influenced ancient India or the Indian civilization influenced Greece, is still a subject of difference of opinion.³ Among the best latest writers, expressing the former opinion, was the late German savant, Prof. Weber. Mr. V. A. Smith, in his latest book (*The Early History of India, from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*), thus sums up the other view: "India was not Hellenized; she continued to live her life of 'splendid isolation' and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm."

It appears, that the influence was mutual. India was influenced by the West, which, in its turn, was influenced by India. Among, what we

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

² *Transactions* III, pp. 14-17.

³ *Vide* for this subject (a) "History of Sanscrit Literature," by Macdonell, Chap. XVI, entitled Sanskrit Literature and the West.

(b) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVIII, Part I. (1889), Mr. Smith's article "Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of India," pp. 107-198; Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 50-76.

may call, the results of the permanent influence of the West upon India, we may include the following :—

1. The Indian writing had a Semitic source. It is supposed to have been introduced into India in about 800 B.C.¹
2. The rule, of about 80 years, of the Græco-Bactrian princes, who began to conquer Western India in about 200 B.C., had a strong influence upon the coinage of the country.²
3. The rule of about 300 years of the Scythian kings (120 B.C. to 178 A.D.), called by the Indians, the Çakas, which is believed to be the Persian designation of the Scythians, is commemorated by the Çaka era, which “dates from 78 A.D., the inaugural year of Kanishka, the only famous king of this race.”³ The Jats, a tribe of the Punjab, are said to have been descended from these Scythians.

Among some of the most certain results of the influence of India upon the West, may be mentioned the following :—

1. The migration of Indian fables to the West.
2. The migration of the Indian game of chess⁴ to the West, through Persia, in the time of Noshirwan (Chosroes I.).
3. The influence of Indian thought upon Greek Philosophy. As striking instances of some possible influence of Indian thought upon the West, Dr. MacDonell gives the following doctrines :—

(a) “Some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics, that God and the universe are one, that everything existing in multiplicity has no reality, that thinking and being are identical, are all to be found in the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedānta system, which is its outcome.

(b) “Again, the doctrine of Empedocles, that nothing can arise which has not existed before, and that nothing existing can be annihilated, has its exact parallel in the characteristic doctrine of the Sāṅkhya system about the eternity and indestructibility of matter.

“According to Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and others undertook journeys to Oriental countries in order to study philosophy. Hence there is at least the historical possi-

¹ MacDonell's Sanskrit Literature, pp. 16 and 408.

² *Ibid.*, p. 412.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴ *Vide* my paper before the B. B. R. A. S., entitled “Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess.” Journal, Vol. XIX, pp. 224-236.

bility of the Greeks having been influenced by Indian thought through Persia."¹

- (c) The Pythagorean doctrines of (a) the transmigration theory (b) and of the assumption of five elements, (c) his "theorem in geometry, (d) the prohibition as to eating beans, (e) the religio-philosophical character of the Pythagorean fraternity, (f) and the mystical speculations of the Pythagorean school, all have their close parallels in Ancient India."² Pythagoras is supposed to have learnt all these from Indians in Persia.
- (d) The neo-Platonist philosophy is supposed to have been influenced by the Sāṅkhya system.
- (e) The same Sāṅkhya system influenced Christian Gnosticism in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.
- (f) Coming to nearer times, the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer was influenced by Indian thought expressed in the Upanishads.
- 4. In science, (a) India has given the numerical figures to the West through the Arabs.
- (b) In Geometry, the West is supposed to have borrowed something from India. "The arrangement of the sacrificial ground and the construction of altars, according to very strict rules, the slightest deviation from which might cause the greatest disaster," at first led the Indians to primitive thoughts about Geometry.
- (c) In later times, even Indian Astronomy influenced the West through the Arabs.
- (d) The same was the case in Medical Science; some of the Indian medical works were translated by the Arabs into the Arabic, and these translations had a certain influence upon European medical science.
- 5. Of the influence of Indian literature upon the West, Dr. MacDonell says: "The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has thus been undeniably great; it may perhaps become greater still in the years that are to come."³

Weber thinks that the old literature of India was influenced by Greece. For example, the Mahābhārata was influenced by Homer's Iliad.⁴ Again, the Indian Drama was influenced by Greek plays, played in India during the time of the Greek invasion. But the question of this influence is not settled.

¹ MacDonell's Sanskrit Literature, pp. 421-22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 422.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁴ *Vide* Principal MacMillan's Lecture on "Indian and Homeric Poems" in his "The Globe Trotter in India and other Indian Studies" (1895), pp. 171-192.

Thus we see, that, in undervaluing the influence of the Greeks, Kennedy rather overshoots the mark. Though the rule of the Greeks in Persia and Bactriana was short, their influence in destroying the old state of affairs was not so little as Kennedy supposes. He says, that it was to the interest of Alexander, that, small as his army was, he should not disturb the religion and customs of the conquered people. Kennedy generally places greater faith in native sources than on classical authors. Now, he had not before him, the Pahlavi books of the Parsees to guide and assist him in this matter. They had not come to sufficient light at his time. More than one Pahlavi book has very clearly said, that Alexander destroyed the ancient literature, and with it, the religion of the country. It is for this reason, that they¹ generally speak of him as "Gazashté Alexieder", i.e., "the cursed Alexander." They put him into the class of wicked men, like Zohâk and Afrâsiâb, who devastated their country. It was true, that, as Kennedy says, it was to his interest, that he should preserve their religion and not disturb or excite their feelings, lest they may rise in rebellion. But, he sought other means to gain that end. A very interesting account of the correspondence, that passed between him and his tutor Aristotle, has been preserved in a letter of Tansar, the Vazir and headpriest of Ardeshir Babegân, to the king of Tabaristân. The original Pahlavi has been lost, but its Persian translation has been preserved, though with a good deal of subsequent interpolations and additions. The late Prof. Darmesteter has given to the public the text of that Persian letter and its translation.² We learn from that letter, that in order to secure the above end, Alexander thought of putting to death the leading aristocracy of Persia whom he expected to rise in rebellion. But Aristotle prevented him from resorting to such a dastardly act, and advised him to divide Persia into different principalities and to set up a Persian nobleman to rule over it as an independent ruler. He said, that such independent rulers (Maluk-i-Tawâif) would fight among themselves for supremacy, and thus weaken themselves, so as never to be able to rise in open revolt against Alexander. Alexander did this. It is an interesting correspondence, and as it is not referred to by any classical writer, I will quote it here at some length. Alexander writes to Aristotle :—

"Par la grâce de Dieu tout puissant nos affaires sont en bonne voie et je veux partir pour l'Inde, la Chine et l' Extrême Orient. Mais je réfléchis que, si je laisse en vie les grands de la Perse, en mon absence ils feront naître des troubles qu'il sera difficile de réprimer ; ils envahiront Roum et attaqueront nos provinces. Ce

¹ Viraf-Nameh, ch. I, 3.

² Journal Asiatique Neuvième Série, Tome III (Mars-Avril 1894), pp. 185—250; (Mai-Juin 1894) pp. 502—555.

que je vois de mieux à faire, c'est de les faire périr tous et je pourrai alors, libre de toute inquiétude, réaliser mes projets."¹

Translation—By the grace of the Almighty God, our affairs are getting on well, and I want to start for India, China, and the Extreme East. But I think, that if I will leave alive the great men of Persia, in my absence, they will create troubles which it will be difficult to suppress. They will invade Asia Minor and carry an attack over our provinces. What I think best to do, is to kill them all, and then being free from all anxiety, to realize my projects.

Aristotle replied, "It is an averred fact, that, in the world, the races of all climates are distinguished by an excellent trait, a talent, (and) a special superiority which is not found in the races of other climates. What distinguishes the Persians, is courage, bravery and prudence on the day of battle, qualities which form the most powerful instruments for sovereignty and success. If you will exterminate them, you will destroy from this world, the best pillar of talent, and once the great men have disappeared, thou shalt be unavoidably forced to pass down to villains, the functions and the ranks of the great. Now, bear this in mind, that in this world, there is no evil, plague, revolt and pestilence, the action of which shall be so pernicious as the promotion of villains to the ranks of nobles. Take care then, turn away your bridle from this project, and in your accomplished wisdom, cut off the tongue of the severity which carries (pain) and wounds more than the lance which slays a man, and for the sake of getting a little ease in this ephemeral life, do not go to lose your good name by following vague calculations, instead of the truth and certainty of religion and faith. . . . What you have to do, is to entrust the kingdom of Persia to these kings (*i.e.*, the petty kings of provinces), and to confer the crowns and thrones upon them, wherever you find them (fit), without giving to any one of them, the precedence or authority over others, in such a way, that every one rules like an independent prince. To bear the crown is a thing of which one may be proud, and a chief, who has obtained the crown, does neither consent to pay tribute to anybody, nor to bend his head before another. This will create, then, among the petty kings, so much of discord, misunderstandings, competitions and disputes for the purpose of having power, so much of rivalry for the display and spread of their riches, so much of quarrels for the degree of respect, so much for the show of their followers, that they will have no leisure to take revenge against thee, and being absorbed in their own affairs, will no more think of the past. And when you will go to the furthest end of the world,

¹ Journal Asiatique Neuvième Série, Tome III, p. 505 (1894).

every one of them will frighten his neighbour with thy power, with thy force, and with the threat of thy assistance, and there will be (enough of) security for thee and after thee." ¹

Firdousi² also refers to this fact, but there is one difference between what the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi says, and what the letter of Tansar says. The letter of Tansar places the fact of this correspondence before Alexander's march to India, but the Shâh-nâmeh places it after his return from India.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 167—191.

It is the translation of a Persian book named Kisseh-i-Sanjân, i.e., the History of Sanjân, written in verse in 1600 A.D. Mr. Eastwick had translated it at the request of Dr. Wilson, who has added a small introduction and a few foot-notes. It is a very important book, as it describes a few events in the early history of the Parsees, especially after their emigration to India.

Dr. Wilson speaks of it as "the most important document of the very meagre accounts possessed by the Pârsis of the settlement of their forefathers in this country." ³ The translation is fairly accurate, but requires correction in several places. Anquetil du Perron (1761 A.D.) has referred to it in his Zend Avesta (Tome I, Part I, pp. CCCXVIII—CCCXXIII) under the title of "une petite Histoire en vers de la retraite des Perses dans l'Inde," and has given a short summary of it. The book has since been translated into Gujarâti in 1855 under the title of "કૌશરો શાસ્ત્રાલ્પ અથવા તત્ત્વશીલે હિંદી પારશીઆત." Eastwick's translation is, as yet, the only English translation, referred to by subsequent writers on the subject. The text of the book is now being published in Bombay by Mr. Mânockji Rustomji Unwâlâ in his Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr.

The most important event, referred to in it, is the fall of the town of Sanjân and the defeat and massacre of the Parsis at the hand of Alaf-khân, a general of Sultân Mâhmud. Now, who was this Sultân Mâhmud, and when did this event occur? Dr. Wilson, in a foot-note⁴ to the above translation, says, it was Sultân Mâhmud Bigarhâ who reigned in Gujarât from 1459 to 1511 A.D. But the late Sir James Campbell, in his "Bombay Gazetteer" (Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 250; Vol. IX, Pt. 2, p. 187), says that it was "Muhammad Shâh or Ala-ud-din Khilji

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 503—505. I translate from the French of Prof. Darmesteer. *Vide* my article "Alexandria and its Library" in the "East and West" of October 1904 (Vol. III No. 36 p. 1018—19). ² Mohl V, p. 247. ³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 167.* ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

(1295-1315)." Sir James Campbell advances some arguments in favour of his views. But, I think, they are not valid, and that Dr. Wilson is quite correct in his view of taking the Sultān, as Sultān Māhmad Bigarhā (Begadā). I do not wish to enter here, at any length, into the question. I have handled this question, at some length, in an article in the "East and West" of July, 1903 (Vol. II, No. 21), entitled "A few Events and their Dates in the Early History of the Parsees," and at full length in an article in the "Zartoshti," an Anglo-Vernacular quarterly of Bombay, in its issues of 1904 (Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4; Vol. II, Nos. 1-2 *et seq.*). The fort of Champānir, referred to in this Kisseh, is described at some length in a paper entitled "Account of the Hill-Fort of Champaneir in Guzerat," by Capt. Miles. (Transactions, L. S. B., I, pp. 150-56, *vide* below p. 288.)

As to the particular date of the abovementioned event, Dr. Wilson gives it as 1507,¹ but I think that it was 1494 A.D.

In the text, there are the following couplets²:—

یکی بهدین پدید آمد در آن وقت
نبوده مثل او کس آنچنان وقت

دپیود نام او چانگا بن آسا
که با بهدین همی کردی دلاسا

Eastwick has translated them thus³—

"In that time one among the faithful arose :
There was none to equal him in those days.

Dhewud was his name, and he resembled the blessing of marriage,

For he brought encouragement to the faithful."

Here, Eastwick has not properly understood the second of these two couplets. He says in a foot-note about the whole of the passage, that it "is very obscure, and appears corrupt."⁴ Again, in a foot-note on the word Dhewud, he finds fault with the text and says: "This appears to be a mistake; for, as below, the name should be Dawar."⁵

Now, the text is correct, and the passage is not obscure, as Eastwick has thought it to be. The thing is, that he has taken a proper noun in the second couplet, to be a common noun and the common noun to be a proper noun. The word دپیود which he read "Dhewud," is not a proper noun, but is a common noun, and must be read

¹ *Ibid.* * Mr. Mānockji Rustomji Unwālā's old manuscript of Dārāb Hormuzdyār's Revāyet, folio 547b, couplets 25 and 27. Lithographed Edition, Vol. II, p. 352, couplets 33 and 35.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 187, ll. 32-33, 36-37. ⁴ *Ibid.*, note 1. ⁵ *Ibid.*, note 2.

"dahyôvad", which is the same as "dahyôpat" and comes from Avesta "danghu-paiti." It means "a ruler or a chief." Again, he has taken the proper noun "Chângâ bin Âsâ" to be a common noun, and has translated it, as "the blessing of marriage." I am at a loss to understand, how Eastwick understood the word in this way. Perhaps, he read the word—or perhaps his manuscript gave the word as چانگ شاز (Chângâ Shâh), which is another form of the name of this personage, and which is also written in some Revâyets as چنگ شاز Jangeh Shâh. He then perhaps mistook the word for Jan-shâh or Shâh-Jan, which is used in Parsee books for 'a bride.' The real interpretation of the second couplet is "He was a leader and his name was Chângâ bin Âsâ."

Now, a study of the dates of the chief events in the life of this Chângâ bin Âsâ (or Chângâ Shâh, as he is otherwise called in other books), as determined from other sources, enables us, not only to settle the question, as to who the abovenamed Sultân Mâhmud was, but also the date of the above event.

I think, that this mistake of Eastwick in his translation, *viz.*, his taking Chângâ Shâh to be a common noun instead of a proper noun, is, to a certain extent, responsible for placing the learned author of the "Gazetteer" on a false track.¹ Had Eastwick given the name of Chângâ Shâh in his translation, an inquisitive person like the author of the "Gazetteer," who has mentioned the name of Chângâ Shâh in other matters, would have inquired into the history of the life of this man, and then, knowing the time when he lived, would not have conjectured that the Sultân Mâhmud was Alâ-ud-din-Khilji. The name of Chângâ Shâh, which he knew, and his date, would have prevented him from doing so. This is an instance, which shows, how a small word, if not properly translated, supplies faulty materials for history. Writers of history must look to the originals and not depend upon translations.

There are several foot-notes in this paper by Dr. Wilson, written from a Christian point of view, which are not correct, and which I need not criticise here.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., I., pp. 293—302.

As Mr. Bird says it was "the conquests on the Indus, made by the

"Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins, in the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." By James Bird, Esq.

Greek sovereigns of Bactria, the Seleucidæ, the Parthian and Sassanian kings of Persia," that introduced into India, and especially into that part called Indo-Scythia, "a variety of coins distinguished by Mythological devices." They are "ascribed to some of the

¹ He says: "The poetical account does not name the layman who persuaded the priests to move the fire to Sanjan" (? Naôari) (The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II (1899) p. 188 n. 1.)

generals, employed under the Seleucidæ, and to the Parthian and Sassanian satraps of Persia " (Journal B. B. R. A. S. I., p. 293).

The author says ¹ in this paper, on the authority of the Râdjatarangini,² that, in about 319 A.D., the ruler of Ujain in Mâlwa was Sriman Hersha Vikramaditya, and that he was the same as Shapur II. of Persia. He had "instituted a persecution against the Manicheans and Christians throughout his dominions."

We know from other sources, that some of the Manicheans, who had escaped to India in Shapur's time, had introduced into the country, especially into the south, many Persian coins. The Pahlavi inscriptions found in Southern India owe their existence to those Manichean refugees from Persia. For a more recent treatment of the question of the names of the deities on the Indo-Scythian coins treated in this paper, I would refer my readers to an excellent article of Dr. Aurel Stein, entitled "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XVII, Part CCVII). Dr. Stein has re-printed this article in a separate pamphlet form in 1888. In connection with this paper, Mon. E. Druin's paper, entitled "Le Nimbe et les Signes de l'Apothéose sur les Monnaies des rois Indo-Scythes" in the 'Revue Numismatique' (Quatrième Série Tome V, deuxième trimestre 1901)" is worth reading. In connection with the subject of the "Kavaêm Kharenô" represented on the gold coins, especially of Huvishka (Stein's Zoroastrian Deities, p. 13) the nimbe, referred to by Mon. Druin, Prof. Wilhelm's paper on 'kharennang' (quarenanh) (Contribution à l'Interpretation de l'Avesta 1885, Extrait du Muséeon) may be read with advantage.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., pp. 151-165.

In this paper, Rev. Mitchell gives an English translation of M Anquetil du Perron's article in his Zend Avesta (Tome II., pp. 592-618), entitled "Système Cérimoniel et Moral des Livres Zends et Pehlvis, considéré en lui-même, et relativement au Système Théologique de ces mêmes Livres." The translation is preceded by a short introduction, in which Rev. Mitchell looks with suspicion to the *bona fides* of Anquetil in his estimate of the Parsee religion. He says: "Anquetil du Perron, in

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 296.

² Vide "Râdjatarangini, Histoire des Rois du Kachmir", traduite par M. Troyer, Tome III, (1852), pp. 43, 653.

- his expositions of the Pârsi religion, manifests a desire to exhibit it in as flattering a light as possible. He was naturally led to represent his own discovery in a favourable aspect, and the cutting sarcasms of
- Jones, Richardson, and others, who represented him as having risked his life, and wasted his time, to procure what was essentially worthless, redoubled his desire to uphold the character of the Zand-Avastâ. . . . * He earnestly labours, in the paper we now subjoin, to show that the doctrines and institutions of the Zand-Avastâ are consistent with reason ;—let the reader judge whether his success is equal to his zeal.”¹ Well, the cutting sarcasms of Sir W. Jones and Richardson, had, before the time when Rev. Mitchell wrote, been shown to be in themselves worthless. They said, that Anquetil was duped by the Parsee priests of Surat, who had passed on him some later writings as the scriptures of their ancient Irân. They have been proved to be wrong, and Anquetil’s estimate of the religious system of Zoroaster has been since upheld by many an impartial critic. Anquetil has erred here and there in his observations and has erred a good deal in his translations ; but, that must not detract from the correctness of his general estimate of the religion.

The study of the Avesta is interesting even to a Biblical student, not only for its moral system referred to by Anquetil, but for several other points. Prof. Jackson says on this point : “ To the Biblical student, the Avesta and the religion of Zoroaster have more than one distinct point of interest. It may fairly be said that the sacred books of no other people, outside the light of the great revelation, contain a clearer grasp of the ideas, of right and wrong, or a firmer faith in the importance of the purity alike of body and soul, a more ethical conception of duty (considering the early times), or a truer, nobler, more ideal belief in the resurrection of the body, the coming of a Saviour and of the rewards and punishments hereafter for the immortal soul, than are to be found in the scriptures of Ancient Iran, illuminated by the spirit of the great teacher himself, Zoroaster.” (“ Avesta, the Bible of Zoroaster,” in the *Biblical World* of June 1893, pp. 420-21.)

I may say here, that the portion of Anquetil’s work, translated in this paper by Rev. Mitchell, forms a part of the translation of a larger part of his work, published under the title of “ Extracts from the Narrative of Mons. Anquetil du Perron’s Travels in India ” by the late lamented Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, whose death last March all Avesta scholars deplore so much.

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., pp. 154-155.*

Journal II., pp. 165---175.

The learned author of this discourse inaugurated, for the first time in the history of the Society, in 1844, *i.e.*,

"A discourse on the object and progress of investigation into Oriental Literature and Science;" read at the Anniversary Meeting of the B. B. R. A. Society, during the year 1844, by James Bird, Esq.

forty years after its foundation, what he calls "the time-honoured custom of other Societies, to review at their Anniversary Meetings the intended objects and progress of their inquiries." The custom has, since, been more honoured in its breach than in its observance, and I think, that it can very advantageously

be revived. In this learned discourse of his, the author, the then Secretary of the Society, while speaking of the literature of Persia gives his view, or rather sums up the view, held at the time, about the origin of Pahlavi, Pazend and Zend. Even now, after the lapse of so many years, it is worth reading, as giving the then prevalent views on the subject of these languages. The author thus refers to Sir W. Jones' theory about the Zend being "a forgery of modern times." He says: "The testimony of so ancient an author as Masudi, that the book called Asta and its commentary the Pazend were in existence in his time, establishes the comparative antiquity of the Zend-Avasta, and that the language of it is not a forgery of modern times. . . . It is . . . more natural to conclude with Rask that Sanskrit was introduced, as a foreign language into India, from Aria or Iran, in preference to the supposition that it was brought from India into Persia."¹

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., pp. 251—263.

This article is interesting for those, who want to know, how the

Cuneiform Inscriptions.
Translated from the eighth
volume of Ritter's *Geography*.²

Iranian Cuneiform Inscriptions were, one by one, deciphered, and what great difficulties their decipherment presented. This article presents an idea of an early attempt to trans-

late the first few lines of the Inscriptions of Darius at Behistun. This part of the inscription is written in the style of the 8th Chapter of the Yaçna, known among the modern Parsees as (𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬊𐬎) *Jamvâni bâj*, *i.e.*, the prayer for saying grace before meals. It is the same, as that, which has been latterly deciphered, on the "Châlouf column", discovered by the late M. Lesseps, near the modern Suez Canal.

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., p. 181.*

² *Die Erdkunde von Asien, von Karl Ritter (1846).*

*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IV., pp. 216—241. March 1849
and February 1852.*

- Under this title the author presents two of his papers.

I. He had read the first paper on 22nd March 1849¹ under the title of "A brief view of some recent investigations of the Zend Avesta by German Orientalists." "Recent Investigations in Zend Literature." By the Revd. J. Murray Mitchell.

II. The second paper bears no particular title. It was read on 12th February 1852, and in the Proceedings of the Meeting of that date² it is said to be a paper on "Zend Literature." Revd. Mitchell speaks of it as "A notice of the zealous and successful studies of two (Orientalists), whose names are already familiar—Professor Spiegel of Erlangen and Dr. Rudolph Roth."³

The first of these two papers⁴ treats of the following papers by two German Orientalists :—

(1) "Studies on the Zend Avesta,"⁵ by Dr. Spiegel.

(2) "The Legend of Feridun in India and Iran," by Dr. Roth.⁶

Revd. Mitchell gives a short description of the subjects treated by these Orientalists, and holds them, as supporting his views about Anquetil's version of the Zend Avesta and about the religious and moral system of the Parsees.

I have referred in a previous part of this paper (pp. 200-1), to Rev. Mitchell's translation of Anquetil's views on the religious system of the Parsees. He did not agree with Anquetil, in the high estimation in which he held the system. So, in this paper, he quotes with approbation, Spiegel's views about the incorrectness of Anquetil's translation. But he forgets, that, in spite of incorrectness here and there in details in the matter of translation, the estimate formed by a person like Anquetil, from the books and from his experience, may be correct. Even after 50 years of more critical and philosophical study, it is not rare, to find scholars differing much in their translations of a number of passages.

The view expressed by Spiegel, in the paper referred to, about the Pahlavi language, differs from that of Westergaard, noted in this same volume. Westergaard, in a letter dated 21st July 1851, and addressed to Dr. Wilson, expressed his opinion "founded on a critical examination of the so-called Pehlivi writings, that they are not

¹ Vide Extracts from the Proceedings of the Society for the meeting held on 22nd March 1849, Journal, Vol. III., Part II., No. XIII., p. 140.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S. IV., p. 461.

³ Ibid. pp. 216—225.

⁵ Ibid. p. 218.

⁶ Ibid. p. 225.

⁷ Ibid. p. 221.

in any Sasanian language, but merely in a dialect (probably the Kirmanian) of the modern Persian, disguised by the use of an imperfect alphabet," an opinion with which Dr. Wilson concurred.¹ Spiegel, on the other hand, was of opinion, that Pahlavi belonged "to the era of the earlier Sassanian kings of Persia (from A.D. 226 onwards)" and he referred "the Pehlivi version of the Zendavesta to the same age". Spiegel's study of Pahlavi was deeper than that of Westergaard's, and his opinion has proved to be correct. The following view of Spiegel, as noted in this article, deserves more than a passing notice: "Wholly apart from its use as a translation, as a relic of the Sassanian dynasty, it (the Pahlavi literature) is possessed of much historical value. The Sassanian epoch is one of the highest importance in the history of Asia—and of Asiatic *mind*; but, unhappily, it is involved in much obscurity. The science of History may expect to receive interesting contributions from the light which will be shed on that epoch from the study of the Pehlivi version of the Zendavesta, and the works connected with it. At that period, Persia by no means secluded herself from intercourse with foreign nations. Greek and Christian influences acted powerfully on the Persian mind; and Pārsūism, again, largely contributed to the opinions of the Gnostics and Manicheans. The Western influence acted on Persia in two modes; the one, translation of Greek writers into Persian, the other, direct contact between the Persians and the Syrian Christians who were scattered in large numbers throughout the country."²

Now, though the expectation of Spiegel, as to the science of History receiving interesting contributions, has not been greatly fulfilled, still, the Pahlavi literature, that has since been brought to light, has not been without its value in great many ways. The Pahlavi literature, other than the Pahlavi translations, has presented a vivid picture of the Irānian life of the period, and has, at the same time, explained a good deal of, what we may call, the historical allusions of the Avesta. Again, it has shown, how far, that historical poem, the Shāh-nāmeḥ of Firdousi, has rested, in many of its episodes, on the sure grounds of old reliable materials.

As to the influence of the West on the East, *i.e.*, Persia, we know, that it is a question, on which there is much difference of opinion. The question, as to how much the East influenced the West, and the West influenced the East, is not settled. But, this much can be said, that the later influence of the West—for example, that of Greece—was, to a certain extent, a reflex of what was once remitted by the East to the West.³ Persia had, through the Greek translations of

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IV., p. 153.

² *Ibid*, p. 219.

³ *Ibid*, p. 220.

⁴ *Vide* above pp. 192-94.

its books, at the time of Alexander's conquest, given something of its own to the West, and so, if the West, as typified by Greece, gave something back to it in later Sassanian times, it was something of its own, to a great extent. In fact, it took up back, what was congenial to its own soil.

Coming to the second subject of Rev. Mitchell's first paper, *vis.*, "The Legend of Feridun in India and Iran," we find Rev. Mitchell getting rather exultant. He says: "It has been well known for a considerable time that many of the technical religious terms occurring in the Veda are reproduced in the Zendavesta. . . . The identification of proper names, thus happily commenced by Bopp and Lassen, has been carried out by Dr. Roth, in the case of the word Feridun. . . . Amid the confessedly inextricable confusion in which the primeval annals of Persia are involved, it has been fondly imagined that with him at all events we discern some traces of historic truth. . . . Now, if the conclusions of the German critic be accordant with truth, Feridun . . . is no historic personage at all—he is simply one of the deities acknowledged in remote times by the Aryan race."¹ Rev. Mitchell forgets, that the mere fact of a historic person being raised by later generations, or by the people of another country, into the position and dignity of a deity, does not make him less a historic person. Persia, the country of Feridun, has not made him a deity. India has made him so. India will one day make—to a certain extent it has begun making—Her late Majesty a deity. So, will the later generations of England look to her name with suspicion? As a recent writer says: "We have before our eyes, the fact, that the worship of the dead, or of men celebrated for their power, wisdom or piety, has always, and 'in all ages, been one of the predominant tendencies of human nature."² The same writer says: "In the case of ancient profane history and tradition, it is evident that while fable and exaggeration would be almost certain to collect round the memories of celebrated persons, yet they are no proof that these persons never existed."³

In the second paper embodied in this article, Rev. Mitchell brings to the notice of the members of the Society, further studies of the same two abovementioned German Orientalists. Dr. Roth's article on the "Legend of Jamshid"⁴ is in the same line, as that on the "Legend of Feridun" referred to above.⁵

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. IV, pp. 221—222, ² "The Worship of the Dead" by Col. J. Garnier, Preface, p. viii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. vi. ⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IV, p. 225.

⁵ I would refer my readers for my views on Jamshed, to my essay on Jamshed, in my (જામશેદ હેઠળ અગ્નિ આતશ) "Jamshed, Haoma and Fire."

Of the several articles of Dr. Spiegel, referred to in this paper, one is that on the "Legend of Sâm."¹

Spiegel's treatise on the 19th Chapter of the Vendidâd, referred to here, is interesting to the Parsis, as a defence from a learned Orientalist, against the allegation, that the ancient Persians considered "Zravâna Akarana," i.e., "Endless Time", as the supreme deity. "He contends with Müller, that in the proper Pârsî system, there is no place for Zaruân as the supreme deity." Rev. Mitchell has given here, Dr. Spiegel's translation of a part of the 19th Chapter of the Vendidâd, which contains the words "Zravân Akarana," and has compared his translation with Mr. Frâmjee Aspândiârjî's and Anquetil's translations. Dr. Haug² refers to this question, briefly, in his "Essays on the Parsis." Mr. K. R. Cama refers twice to this subject in his "Zartoshti Abhyâs." At first³, he refers to Dr. Spiegel's correct interpretation, referred to in this paper, and gives his views of the subject. He refers to the same subject again⁴, when refuting the views of M. Adolphe Franck⁵, on the sect of the Zervanites, referred to by the Armenian writer Esnick. This sect, at one time, believed in "Zravâna Akarana," but their belief has no foundation on the Avesta. The belief is also referred to in a later Persian treatise called Olmâ-i-Islâm.⁶

Among other questions, referred to in this paper, we find the following :—

- I. *The influence of Judaism upon the Zoroastrian religion and vice versa.* Rev. Murray Mitchell says on this subject : "Our Orientalists are not in general disposed to attribute so much influence to Judaism in the development of the Pârsî system as the historical connexion between the Jews and Persians suggests as probable, and even necessary. The wide dissemination of Jews and Jewish opinions throughout the Roman Empire is an admitted fact . . .

¹ Strange to say, that I had heard at Cashmere, a good deal of this hero's legend. Among this, I heard an allusion to him, which is referred to in a Pahlavi work, and to which no reference is made in a Persian book. I have referred to this matter, in my paper before our Society, entitled "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians." (B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIX, pp. 237—248.)

² Journal. B. B. R. A. S., IV, p. 230.

³ "Essays on the Parsis," 2nd edition, p. 24.

⁴ F. Lajard has suggested, that the "circle", found in some of the monuments of Persia, signified the Zravâna Akarana, referred to here. *Vide* in Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Tome XVI (Aout 1835), an article entitled "Sur l'emploi et la signification du cercle ou de la couronne et du globe dans les représentations figurées des divinités chaldéennes ou assyriennes et des divinités persanes", p. 172.

⁵ No. VI, pp. 330—332.

⁶ No. X, pp. 90—92.

⁷ *Vide* "French Views on Zoroastrianism," translated from the texts of M. Adolphe Franck and M. Jules Oppert, by Mr. F. R. Vicaji (1866).

⁸ *Vide* M. Blochet's very interesting brochure on this subject entitled "Le Livre intitulé L'Oulamâ-i-Islâm" (1893), pp. 18-19, published as a number of "Revue de L'Histoire des Religions." *Vide* Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre (1829) par M. Mohl, Oulamâ-i-Islâm, pp. 1-2.

We have no reason to believe the influence of Judaism in Persia to have been less."¹

We find, that not only Orientalists, but some of the Christian divines, have come to the conclusion, that the influence of the Persian religion has been much more over Judaism than that of the latter upon the former. As far as the Avesta is concerned, its influence upon Judaism is undoubtedly great. Possibly, some part of the later Pahlavi and Pazend literature was, to a little extent, influenced by Hebrew thoughts. As an instance of the influence of Judaism on later Pazand literature, Dr. Darmesteter² points to a Jewish-Persian prayer.

Among the earlier writers, who said, that Judaism was, to a certain extent, indebted to Zoroastrianism, we find the names of Bunsen and Rhodes. Among the modern writers of this view, we find Dr. Cheyne³ and Dr. Mills⁴, who admit the Zoroastrian influence to a certain extent. Dr. Kohut's book on the subject is very interesting.⁵ Mr. K. R. Cama has referred to this subject in his Jartoshti Abhyās.⁶

The question referred to in this paper, whether the doctrine of Resurrection is an original Avesta doctrine, or one borrowed by the Persians later on from the Hebrews, has been often discussed. Dr. Haug said : "It is not ascertained whether these doctrines were borrowed by the Parsis from the Jews, or by the Jews from the Parsis ; very likely neither is the case, and in both these religions they seem to have sprung up independently".⁷ Later on,⁸ he calls this "a genuine Zoroastrian doctrine" resting on two passages of the Zamyād Yasht.⁹ Further on¹⁰ Haug refers to Burnouf's discussion of the meaning of the words "Yavaêcha, Yavatâtaêcha," referred to by Rev. Mitchell in this paper,¹¹ and says : "In consequence of Burnouf's inquiries into the phrase Yavaêcha Yavatâtaêcha (which had been translated by Anquetil "till the resurrection," but which means nothing but "for ever and ever,") the existence of such a doctrine in the Zend-Avesta was lately doubted.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. IV, p. 232.

² "Une Prière Judéo-Persane" par James Darmesteter (1891).

³ Vide his "Origin of the Psalter," pp. 271, 281, 393, &c.

⁴ Vide his article entitled "Zoroaster and Bible" in the Nineteenth Century of January 1894 and subsequent articles in various periodicals. His article in the Nineteenth Century has been translated by Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Coorlâvâlâ into Gujarâti and published in a book form under the title of "૨૩૫૨૪ ૨૫૨ ૫૧૭૫૬" (1894).

⁵ "The part taken by the Parsi religion in the formation of Christianity and Judaism" translated from the German of the late Dr. Kohut, Bombay, 1899. Vide also "The Jewish Angelology and Demonology, based upon Parsism," Translated from the German of Dr. Alexander Kohut, by K. R. Cama, 1881.

⁶ No VI, pp. 334-336. Vide my paper on "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians," read before the Oriental Congress at Hamburg (Journal, Anthropological Society, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 237).

⁷ Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Edition, p. 5.

⁸ Ibid, p. 216.

⁹ Yt. XIX 11-12 and 89-90.

¹⁰ Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Edition, p. 312.

¹¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. IV, p. 231.

But there is not the slightest reason for doubting it, as one may convince himself from the passage quoted in p. 217, where it is clearly stated that the dead shall rise again. That the resurrection of the dead was a common belief of the Magi, long before the commencement of our era, may be learned from the statement of Theopompus. Now the question arises, had Spitama Zarathushtra already pronounced this doctrine, which is one of the chief dogmas of Christianity, and of the Jewish and Mahomedan religions, or is it of later, perhaps foreign, origin? Though in the Gathas there is no particular statement made of the resurrection of the dead, yet we find a phrase used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of resurrection, and the restoration of all life that has been lost during the duration of creation. This is the expression *frashem kerenaon ahûm* (Yas. XXX, 9). . . According to these statements, there can be no doubt that this important doctrine is a genuine Zoroastrian dogma, which developed itself naturally from Spitama Zarathushtra's sayings. There is not the slightest trace of its being borrowed from a foreign source."¹

Prof. Jackson also has referred to this question in his article on "The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life" (The Biblical World of August 1896, p. 157). Therein, he says: "A question may arise as to whether the Saviour-idea in Mazdaism was a tenet that was taught by Zoroaster himself, or whether it may not possibly be due to some influence of the Messianic idea in Judaism . . . A metrical fragment of the Avesta (Frag. IV. 1-4), an extract from Yasht XIII. 89 seq. and the well known passage in the Bundahishn . . . (Bd. XXX, 1 seq.), all lend their weight in ascribing this particular teaching to Zoroaster himself. The whole system of the faith appears to be built upon this tenet." He says the same thing, in his article on Resurrection in the American Oriental Society's Proceedings (April 1893, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX). Therein he says that it "was a tenet undoubtedly inculcated by Zoroaster some centuries before the Christian era."

Dr. Cheyne² seems to think that the Jewish doctrine of Resurrection was borrowed from the Zoroastrians.³

Prof. Graetz, in his "History of the Jews,"⁴ points to the following customs and beliefs, as borrowed from the Irânians by the Jews:—

1. Laws concerning purity and impurity. Graetz says:—"These laws would never have attained such far-spreading and extra-

¹ Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Ed, pp. 312-13.

² The Origin and Religious contents of the Psalter by Dr. Cheyne (1891), pp. 400-401.

³ Vide Mr. K. R. Cama's Jartoshti Abhyâs, No. 5 pp. 288-302.

⁴ Vide my papers on "Astodân," or "A Persian Coffin said to be 3000 years old, &c.," in the Journal, Bombay Anthropological Society, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 426-441 and on "Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Persians," Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 365-374.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 414 et seq.

- ordinary importance had it not been for the sojourn of the Judæans during so many centuries in Persia.”¹
2. “Although the Judæans resisted any alteration in their conception of the Deity, still they could not prevent many of the ideas and customs of the Persians from gaining ground among the nation. They imagined that they were adding to the glory of God, if, in imitation of the Irânians, they surrounded Him with myriads of obedient servants. . . Like the Persians the Judæans called the angels the holy watchers.”²
 3. “As the imagination of Yazatas had given the angels a Hebrew character and Hebrew names, so did it also introduce the bad spirits, or Dævas, among the Judæans. Satan was a copy of Anglo-Mainyus.”³
 4. The idea of Heaven (Paradise) and Hell (Ge-Hinnom). “Each individual was permitted to accept or to reject this doctrine.”⁴
 - 5 “One belief emanating from the Iranian religion became part of the spiritual life of the Judæans, until it grew at last to be a binding dogma ; it was that of the resurrection of the dead from their graves.”⁵

II. One other question, referred to by Rev. Mitchell, in this paper, is that, of “The Antiquity of the Avesta.” Among the advanced opponents holding opposite views on the subject during these last 10 years, we have the distinguished names of the late Dr. Darmesteter and of Rev. Dr. Mills. I have examined Dr. Darmesteter’s views at some length in my paper on “The Antiquity of the Avesta,” read before our Society.⁶

Journal V., pp. 77—94, 21st April 1853.

This paper “notices the coincidence, and at the same time discrepancy, of several of the Zendic with the Vedic legends; endeavours to trace their origin to traditions of a primitive era of physical and moral bliss, and to aspirations for a renewal of happiness both in the present and future life; and points out their subsequent corruption in the interpretation of them as historical notices of kings, heroes and prophetic personages. The oldest of these legends affords an insight into the anti-historical time, when the Japhetic nations of Iran and India began to develop their religious

“The Anolent Iranian Mythology.” A letter to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President of the Society. By Prof. N. L. Westergaard of Copenhagen.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414-415.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 415-16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 417-18.

⁶ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 263—287. This paper has been translated into French in the “Revue de L’Histoire des Religions” of 1897.

and social existence, putting their own interpretations on the phenomena of nature and the wants of the human soul. The more modern of them, though still very ancient, mark a growing estrangement from one another of the two branches of the Arian nation, the Indian and Persian."

The question is, what is the order of evolution? Is it the one suggested by Westergaard, *i.e.*, Do these legends begin with "traditions of a primitive era of physical and moral bliss" and "with aspirations for a renewal of happiness, both in the present and future life" and end in their so-called "corruption in the interpretation of them as historical notices of kings, heroes and prophetic personages"? Or, do they begin with historical personages, and after some period, end with an interpretation of them as illustrations of moral principles? I am inclined to agree with those who take the latter view.

This paper of Prof. Westergaard, presents a few of the results of his study of comparative mythology,—a study begun long before him by Dr. Roth and others, and followed by Dr. Spiegel. We have referred (pp. 203 et seq.) to Spiegel's comparisons in this line, in our remarks on Rev. Murray Mitchell's paper, entitled "Recent Investigations in Zend Literature."¹ Roth had already said, a few years ago, as pointed out by Westergaard, that Yima was "the symbolic representation of the golden age, with all the blessings of abundance and peace."² Westergaard agrees with him in this view, and says something more. He says: "Yima certainly is the symbolic representation of the golden age, or (as every man has his golden age, however short it may be) the symbolical emblem of the happiest time of man, the brightest state of life, but only as far as this depends on the earthly or material well-being, furnished by the physical blessings of nature; because Yima, being, as we may remember, unable to bestow on man the holy word, or knowledge of God, he could not be the symbolical expression of that happiness which is unattainable without that knowledge. The same original idea was, in my opinion, connected by the Indians with their Yama; he, too, likewise, was a symbolical representation of the golden age, an emblem of the happiest and brightest state of man. But, though the Hindu embraced life and its blessings with as much loving attachment as all other earthly creatures, he was less ensnared by its pleasures; for his depth of thought, and serious disposition of mind, led him to form a more correct estimate of the transitory nature of earthly enjoyment. His attention was, therefore, turned to the life beyond death: it was there he sought for, and there first he found his real

¹ Abstract given in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 385.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S. IV, pp. 215-41.

³ *Ibid.* V, p. 80.

home. . . . There, and there only, he found the real golden age.”¹ We have quoted Westergaard at some length, to show, that, what one can infer from this passage is this, that while the Iranian’s was a practical frame of mind, the Indian’s was a contemplative or dreamy frame of mind. Prof. Max Müller says about the contemplative mind of the Hindu : “The Aryan nations who pursued a north-westerly direction, stand before us in history as the principal nations of north-western Asia and Europe. They have been the prominent actors in the great drama of history, and have carried to their fullest growth all the elements of active life with which our nature is endowed. . . . His (Hindu’s) mind was like the lotus leaf after a shower of rain has passed over it ; his character remained the same, passive, meditative, quiet, and thoughtful. . . . The ancient Hindus were a nation of philosophers.”²

Legends have generally a frame work or foundation of historical truth under them. In whatever light you look to the legend of the Irânian Yima or Jamshed, you find, that in the Irânian literature, he is made to act on the plane of this world. It is the Indian mind that has raised Yama to the plane of the other world. Yima was a mortal in the eye of an Irânian. It were the Indians, who exalted Yama to the higher heavens and made him a god. So, in all such cases, when you consider, whether the heroes of such Irânian legends really existed or not at one time, you must not be guided by what is said of them in the Vedic literature, but you must look to them only from the standpoint of Irânian literature. The contemplative mind of a Hindu may have latterly raised the personage to a higher plane. I have alluded to this point in my remarks on the “Legend of Feridun,” referred to by Rev. Murray Mitchel, in his paper³ based on the account of Feridun’s legend sent to him by Spiegel.

The fact, that in India, some of the heroes of these legends are raised to the dignity of “gods,” has led some to take the view held by Westergaard. But the ways of looking to life in both these countries are different. It is the contemplative mind of a Hindu, and it is his dreamy, speculative, philosophic thoughts that have led him to exalt these mortals into gods. But the practical mind of an Irânian has never raised them to that dignity.

Professor Jackson refers to a similar subject in a short note entitled “On Mahâ-Bhârata III, 142. 35—45, an Echo of an old Hindu-Persian legend,” in the American Oriental Society’s Proceedings (April 1896, Vol. XVII, pp. 185-87). Therein, he says, that in this matter “Persia may serve to throw a side-light upon the Mahâ-Bhârata (p. 185).”

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

² MaxMüller’s Chips from a German Workshop (2nd Edition, 1880), Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IV, pp. 216-41. *Vide supra*, p. 205.

Anyhow, the whole of Westergaard's article is very interesting for those, who want to compare the picture of old Arian heroes, as given in the Irânian literature, with that given in the Indian literature. "Look to this picture and to that," and form your opinion about the question, as to how legends are evolved. His paper is, as it were, a paper on "The Evolution of Legends." He connects the several separate stories and unites them into a whole. He says: "These natural fables, which I have severally examined,—these mythological representations of the condition and movements of nature and mankind,—assumed, in the course of time, a more sensible, bodily, and human shape; and thus Jemshid, Feridun, Gershâsp merely appear as purely human kings and earthly heroes in the later traditional history of Persia. . . . They really combine to compose one idea, being the several parts of one image, under which the ancient Irânians, twenty-five centuries or more ago, tried to represent their views of the earthly happiness and physical welfare of man, of the contending powers of nature contributive to, or destructive of, his happiness, and of the combat necessary to secure it and restore it when lost by man's own transgression."¹

Journal, V, pp. 95-108, 20th January 1853.

In this paper, Romer tries to show, that the connections of the Persian, properly so-called, in which Firdousi and other subsequent authors wrote, with the other old languages of Irân (*vis.*, Zend, the language of the Achemenian Inscriptions, the Sassanian Pahlavi of the Inscriptions of Hâjiâbâd and other places, the Pahlavi of books, the Pazend, and the language of the Desâtir) "are exceedingly remote and insignificant, and by no means of the character long alleged by the able and zealous Orientalists of the Continent."²

As to the Zend, he disputes its claim to genuineness "as resting on insufficient grounds, particularly as no vestiges of it as a language ever spoken can be found; its historical connections cannot be traced; its structure and form are entirely diverse from the Persian, especially in its having inflexions, while the Persian has none; its literature is frivolous and absurd in its character; and its undoubted relations to the Sanskrit seem artificial and suspicious."³

Though, nearly half a century had elapsed, since Sir W. Jones doubted the authenticity of the Zend, and though philologists, like Bopp and Burnouf, had tried to prove the authenticity and antiquity of the

¹ *Ibid.*, V., p. 91.

² Romer's views as summed up by Wilson. *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 95.*

³ *Ibid.*, J., B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 95.

- * Avesta, still there were some Orientalists, who continued to doubt its authenticity and antiquity. Among those, one was Mr. Romer. He seems to have depended much upon his knowledge of modern Persian.
- * Of that knowledge also, he does not seem to have made great use. For example, in his arguments against the antiquity of the Zend Avesta, he quotes Kennedy, who also depended for his views upon his knowledge of Persian and not upon that of Zend itself. Romer thus quotes Kennedy in his support. "But the sole authority on which the Zend and Pehlivi books depend is the tradition of the Pârsis. Before, however, these traditions can be admitted as testimony, it must be satisfactorily proved that the Zendavesta and its Pehlivi translation actually existed at the time of the Arabian conquest, and that they have been carefully preserved until the present day by the Pârsis of Persia and India. But no proof has ever been adduced, nor has it been yet established, that the Pârsis of either country possess any well-authenticated traditions, which ascend uninterruptedly to that event. On the contrary, the silence of Tabari and Firdausi respecting them is a strong presumption that they were not invented at the time when these writers lived."¹

We are surprised to find from this passage, how little use, both Kennedy and Romer, have made of their knowledge of Persian, because Firdousi has not, as said by them, remained silent, but has, on the other hand, made more than one reference to the fact, that the Zendavesta was prevalent in the times of the ancient Irânian kings. For example, Firdousi carries back the existence of the Zend Avesta, even to the time of Feridun. He says:—

نشست اندر آن مرز از آن کرده بود که کندز فریدون بر آورده بود
بر آورده در کندز آتشکده هم زندواستا بزر آورده

Translation.—He took his residence there, because Feridun had built (this) Kandez. He had built a fire-temple in Kandez and had written the Zend Avesta in gold over it (*i.e.*, over its walls).

Firdousi refers to the Zend Avesta more than once (*Vide* in Mohl VII, p. 762, the word Zend Avesta). Again, Tabari also is not silent over this matter. He speaks of Zoroaster bringing the Zend Avesta in the court of King Gushtâsp.²

Again, Firdousi now and then speaks of the Pahlavi language, and gives the Pahlavi renderings of some of the words he uses. For example, while speaking of Zohâk, he refers to his other name, Baêvar-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100. ² Mohl IV., p. 22, ll. 222-23. ³ Tabari par Zotenberg I., pp. 499-500. "Il leur apporta un livre qu'ils appellent Zendavesta" (p. 499). Il apporta le Zendavesta" (p. 500). Even Maçoudi speaks of the Zend Avesta as Besta (Maçoudi par B. de Meynard II. pp. 124-126, 167-68).

asp, and explains, what it means in Pahlavi.¹ Thus, we see, that both Firdousi and Tabari are not silent about the Zend Avesta and the Pahlavi.

Again, Romer's and Kennedy's belief about the modern Persian, that "it dates from remote antiquity" and is "in exactly the same state at the present day as it was three thousand years ago,"² may now-a-days be taken as a myth. There are several other statements of that kind in the paper. Mr. K. R. Cama has refuted, in his (જર્જોશ્તી અભ્યાસ) Jartoshti Abhyâs* (*i.e.*, Zoroastrian Studies), some of the views of Romer expressed in this paper, and also those of Kennedy⁴ on the subject of the Zend language.

Dr. Wilson had relinquished his early impressions, about the Zend Avesta being a fabrication, and was, later on, satisfied, that it was genuine. Romer hopes that he may reconsider the matter and come back to his earlier impressions. He says: "It is to be regretted that Dr. Wilson, remembering Kennedy's filiation of certain languages from Babylonian or Sanskrit, to the exclusion of Persian, did not abide by and work out his earliest impressions as to whence the fabricators of Zend drew the materials for their work. But as he has relinquished faith in the authenticity of Pehlivi, as will appear presently, he may possibly undertake the task of a careful re-examination of the points which have satisfied him as to the genuineness of Zend."⁵

With reference to this hope, to reconsider his views, Dr. Wilson states in his remarks on this paper, that his views of the Zend remained unchanged and were "founded, not only on the analogies which it bears to most of the languages of the Indo-Germanic family, both near and remote, but also on various, though brief, geographical and historical allusions which it contains, and on certain analogies, and at the same time antagonisms, to the oldest forms of Hinduism, which it expresses."⁶

We find from a subsequent volume of the Journal of our Society (Vol. VI., Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, 10th September 1857, p. xxxviii), that Romer had, later on, published a paper, entitled "The Pahlavi of the Zend Avesta" in French in the *Revue de l'Orient*. In a letter dated 18th July 1857, with which he sends a copy of that Journal to our Society, he repeats his views and says: "It may not be doubted that *remains* of writings extant in the fifth century, when the Armenian Bishop Essick carried on a religious controversy with the Persian Magi, have, as shown by their agreement, furnished materials for the composition of some parts of the sacred books of the Parsis,

¹ Mohl I., p. 56.

² J., B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 97.

³ No. II., pp. 51-58.

⁴ *Vide* Kennedy's "Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe" (1828), pp. 159-92.

⁵ *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

- whilst it is manifest, by the testimony of undisputed facts, that the languages named Zend and Pahlavi, in which these books are written, are artificial, not genuine, original, or indigenous tongues, at any time
- spoken by any people or nation known to history. At this conviction I have arrived after diligent, but, from circumstances, somewhat desultory search for truth."

Books of Mahomedan history have said, that Caliph Omar had ordered the destruction of all Parsee books. The Parsees say, that Alexander the Great also had done the same. Romer attributes this, to the ignorance of historical facts among the Parsees of his time, and thinks that they gradually transferred the event, which happened at one time (the time of Arabian Conquest), to another time (the time of Macedonian Conquest). He says: "By the modern Pârsis, however, whose notions of history may be judged by the fact, this devastation of the learning and religious books of their ancestors is attributed to Alexander."

Well, it is not a case of transference of an event from one time to another. As a matter of fact, the event happened at both the times. The Parsees have the authority of their ancient Pahlavi books², some of them written before the Arab Conquest, to say that Alexander destroyed their old books. He burnt one of their big State libraries, and his Greeks carried away, for translation, most of the books of another library. Their Pahlavi books speak of this destruction in Alexander's time, and the Mahomedan books speak of the destruction at the time of the Arab conquest.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., pp. 478-91. April 1855.

This is not a regular paper, but the report of a brief *vivâ voce* lecture on "The Results of Recent Discovery in Assyria and Babylonia,"³ by Sir Henry Rawlinson, at a meeting, presided over by Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay. The results of this discovery, he said, led to "an inquiry which involved the restoration of the history of Western Asia from the Patriarchal ages to the time of Cyrus."⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

² Dinkard, Bk. III, Haug's Introduction to "An Old Zand Pahlavi Glossary" by Dastur Dr. Hoshengji, pp. xxxi-xxxviii. West's Dinkard, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxi. Dinkard, Bk. IV., pp. 412-13. Ardâi Virâf-Nâmeh, Chap. I, 1-15. Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristân, Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série, Tome III, (1894), p. 212 (Iskander az ketâb i din i mâ dvâzdeh hazâr pust gâv besukht) p. 516. *Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân*, &c., pp. 55 and 134-35. For the destruction of Parsee books by the Arabs, *vide my article entitled "Alexandria and its Library" in the East and West of October 1904 (Vol. III, No. 36), pp. 1024-25.*

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 478. ⁴ *Ibid.*

The Society was very fortunate in hearing this discourse from the lips of that very great man, who has shed a lustre upon the names of great English discoverers and travellers in Western Asia. Sir Henry Rawlinson illustrated his lecture, by exhibiting on the table of the Society, before he took them to England, "a collection of antiquities which he had lately obtained in Chaldea, Assyria and Babylonia. . . . They . . . were intended to illustrate three distinct periods of history. I. The most ancient class was Chaldean ; II. the second was Assyrian ; III. and the third was Babylonian." ² Some of these antiquities seem to have been left by Rawlinson in the Museum of our Society. I will refer to them later on.

I. The Assyrian monuments showed the interval between Ismi-Dagon of the known Chaldean kings and Senacherib to be 1150 years. This Ismi-Dagon, however, was not the first monarch of the time, being preceded by several others, one of whom was Kadur Mapula, who was identified with the Chedorlaomer of the Scriptures.

II. The second class of relics exhibited "belonged to the Assyrian period, which extended from the thirteenth century B. C. to the capture of Nineveh in about B. C. 625 During the long period of Chaldean supremacy, Assyria occupied a very subordinate place in the civil polity of the East It was not probable that the Assyrians, like the Persians of a later age, had made a sudden stride from dependence to universal dominion It was at the commencement of the 9th century B. C., shortly after the building of Samaria, that the Assyrians first undertook the subjugation of the countries on the Mediterranean ; and from that period to the extinction of the empire, the annals of Nineveh, running in a parallel line with Jewish history, presented a series of notices, which established in the most conclusive manner the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures." ³

We note in Rawlinson's description of the monuments of the Assyrian empire, that some of the rulers of that dynasty mutilated and defaced the monuments of their predecessors. I think, that Darius, the Achemenian king, must have become aware of this disgraceful conduct on the part of some of the kings of the dynasties and of the countries, who had, at one time, held sway over his country, and, it is for this reason, that he was so careful for inscribing his exploits on the mountain of Behistun, at a height not easily accessible. Not only that, but he blessed, in the best way possible, and in the spirit of some of the benedictions of the Avesta, those who looked after, and took care of his inscriptions, and cursed, in the worst way possible, and also in the spirit and in the language of some passages of the Avesta, those who muti-

² *Ibid.* ³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., pp. 479-80.*

lated his inscriptions. Here is an instance of his benediction and curse for those, who preserved, and for those, who destroyed his inscriptions. We give these in the words of the translation of Rawlinson himself.¹

He thus blesses those, who may bring his tablets to the notice of the public instead of concealing them.

"If thou publish this tablet to the world, Ormazd shall be a friend to thee, and may thy offspring be numerous, and may thou be long-lived."²

He thus curses those who may conceal his records: "If thou shalt conceal this record, thou shalt not be thyself recorded, may Ormazd be thy enemy, and may thou be childless."³

Among the relics, the most important were, according to Rawlinson, those of the time of Asshur-bani-pal, and they were "the inscribed clay tablets of baked clay forming portions of the Royal Library. The number of these tablets already exhumed could not be less than 10,000, and they appeared to embrace every branch of science known to the ancient Assyrians. They were especially valuable in affording explanations of the Assyrian system of writing, one class of them showing how the original pictorial figures had been degraded to characters, while others contained tables expressing the different syllabic values which were attached to each character, and a third class again presented elaborate lists of all the simple and compound ideographs of the language with their phonetic equivalents Without their aid . . . the inscriptions would have continued to the present time to be for the most part unintelligible."⁴

III. Coming to the Babylonian period of history, Rawlinson exhibited some original relics of this period, and said that "the united armies of the Medes and Babylonians, defeated, in about B.C. 625, the last king of Nineveh, Asshur-ebid-ilut."⁵ Most of the Babylonian relics in the museums of Europe belonged to Nebuchadnezzar⁶ (the son of Nabopolassar, who first won the victory over the Assyrians, and founded the Babylonian rule) who came to throne in B.C. 606.

Now, we find from Persian books, that this Nebuchadnezzar was a general of king Lohrâsp, the Aurvat-aspa of the Avesta, the father of Gushtâsp, in whose reign Zoroaster is said to have flourished. Maçoudi⁷ says, that, according to some, he was a lieutenant of

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X. Part III. (1847), pp. 250-251, cf. below p. 221.

² *Ibid.* p. 250, Behistun Inscriptions, Column IV, par. 10. ³ *Ibid.* p. 251, Col. IV. par. 11.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., pp. 483-484.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 484.

⁶ The Bâkht-Narshih of the Dinkard (Bk. V. ch. I. 4.) S. B. E., Vol. XLVII. 120.

⁷ Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard I., p. 117. He further says:—"Plusieurs auteurs bien instruits de l'histoire de la Perse prétendent que Bokht-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) fut le *merzebân* (مرزبان) de Bohrasf (Lohrâsp), dans l'Irak et l'Occident, qu'il envahit la Syrie, prit Jérusalem et emmena les Israélites en captivité (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 121-122).

Lohrâsp. Tabari also says that Nebuchadnezzar was a general of Lohrâsp.¹ Now Babylonian history says that Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed Jerusalem. We have a reference to its destruction in the Palhavi Minokherad, but, there, we do not find the name of Nebuchadnezzar as that of the destroyer of Jerusalem, but that of king Lohrâsp, whose general he was. The Minokherad says of king Lohrâsp (Kai Lohrâsp) :—

[illegible]

Auriselam-i-Yahudân barâ afrunt va Yahudân vashûptê va par-gandeh kard, *i.e.*, He destroyed the Jerusalem of the Jews, and dispersed and scattered the Jews. (Dastur D. P. Sanjana's Text, p. 47, Chap. XXVII, West, S. B. E., XXIV, p. 65. *Vide* Mr. Louis H. Gray's article "Kai Lohrasp and Nebuchadnezzar" in "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morganlandes" of 1904. pp. 291-98.)

Rawlinson then describes the ruins of the "Temple of the Seven Spheres," which he had excavated at the ruin named Birs Nimrud, which was situated in the vicinity of Babylon, and which some suspected to be the ruins of the Tower of Babel. The temple was "laid out in conformity with the Chaldean Planetary system, seven stages being erected one above the other, according to the order of the seven planets, and their stages being coloured after the hue of the planets to which they were respectively dedicated. Thus the lower stage belonging to Saturn was black; the second sacred to Jupiter was orange; the third or that of Mars, was red; the fourth of the Sun, golden; the fifth of Venus, white; the sixth, of Mercury, blue; and the seventh, of the Moon, a silvery green." This temple was "built by King Merodoch-adan-akhi at the close of the 12th Century B.C." and repaired by Nebuchadnezzar in about B.C. 580.

Then Rawlinson draws special attention to “an isolated example . . . totally at variance with ancient usage”⁴ wherein “two kings reigned at the same time in Babylon.”⁵ Nabodius, the father, had raised his son Bel-shar-ezer (Belshazzar of Daniel) to the throne during his lifetime.

We note with satisfaction, that Rawlinson acknowledges in his lecture his obligations for the aid he had received from our Society's "extensive library."⁶

The great importance, attached to Rawlinson's discoveries and researches at the time by devout Christians, was thus expressed by

¹ Tabari par Zotenberg I. pp. 491-492. Partie, I., Chap. CV.

^a Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 485.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

- * Dr. Wilson at the time. "The great fact, that they went so far as they did to corroborate and illustrate the Hebrew scriptures, tended much to the confirmation and extended appreciation of those historical records, which, originally written by the pen of inspiration, were so dear to all our hearts."

The Parsis attach the same importance to Rawlinson's discoveries from their point of view. These discoveries bring to vivid light, the history of their Achemenian kings, and supply materials to judge for them, in addition to the writings of Herodotus and other classical writers. They give us some clear glimpses into their religion.

Whether these Achemenian kings were real Zoroastrians or not, is a question of some difference of opinion. The general opinion is, that they were Zoroastrians. Among those, who hold that the religion of the Achemenians was different from that taught by the Avesta and observed by the Sassanians, though they all adored Ahura Mazda, we find the names of Spiegel, Harlez, Casartelli and several others.

The late M. Harlez, in the introduction to his "Avesta, Livre Sacré du Zoroastisme", says, that the two religions were separate. He says "on pense généralement que l'Avesta était déjà la code religieux de l'empire de Darius Un examen approfondi de la matière nous autorise, pensons nous, à affirmer que rien ne justifie cette assimilation, que tous les faits concourent à en démontrer la fausseté". We have a separate article from M. Harlez on the subject, entitled "La religion persane sous les Achéménides."

Rev. Dr. Casartelli's paper⁴ on the subject is worth reading. He presents a summary of the religious ideas—both dogmatic and moral—expressed in the Achemenian inscriptions,⁵ and leaves the readers to judge for themselves. He himself seems to be of opinion, that the Achemenian religion is not the same as the Zoroastrian. The chief ground, on which he seems to rest, is the silence observed in the inscriptions, as to several doctrines characteristic of the Zoroastrian religion, but, he very wisely adds, that silence in such matters is not a safe guide. "Cependant, il ne faut pas oublier qu'il est souvent dangereux d'insister trop sur les arguments *a silentio*, et qu'il convient de les employer avec beaucoup de circonspection."⁶

¹ *Ibid*, p. 491.

² Introduction, pp. IX—XVIII.

³ *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁴ "La Religion des Rois Achéménides d'après leurs Inscriptions" (1895) read before the Third Scientific International Congress of the Catholics (Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques) held at Brussels from 3rd to 8th September 1894.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 13.

Dr. West is of opinion, that the religion of the Achemenians is the same as that of the Zoroastrians. He calls the Avesta, as we have them now, "the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus . . . scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ'."

Prof. Jackson seems to be of opinion, that the later Achemenians were Zoroastrians.¹ His paper on "The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings"² is very interesting for a study of this question. The object of that paper is to undertake a research on the subject "not with the expectation of making clear all points connected with the Achaemenian faith, nor with the idea of determining whether the Achaemenidae were true Zoroastrians or not; but the investigation is made with an eye to bringing together the material relating to the Achaemenian creed as fully as possible, and with a hope that perhaps some hints may be given to students with regard to the relation of the Ancient Persian kings to Zoroastrianism."³

Dr. Jackson's pupil, Dr. Gray, examines the question, in the appendix to his teacher's paper, from the non-Îranian Inscriptions. He thinks that Cyrus was "a *daêvayasnian* and not a *mazdayasnian*"⁴ and that "Cambyses can scarcely be regarded as a Zoroastrian."⁵ With regard to Darius, he has some reluctance "to consider him a genuine Zoroastrian."⁶ Dr. Gray finishes by saying, that, "A conclusion as to the religion of the Achaemenians drawn solely from a study of their non-Îranian inscriptions seems hardly favourable to the view that these monarchs were Zoroastrians. But an exact decision cannot be reached from such texts alone. Only by a synthesis of all data on this mooted problem can we hope even to approximate the truth."⁷

I have treated this subject in a short paper before the "Zarthoshti-dinî-khol-Karnâri-Mandli."⁸ The scholars, who have treated this subject, have not paid any special attention to the forms of prayer, adopted by Darius in his Inscriptions. I think, that the following words of prayer, used by Darius, have their very close parallels in the Avesta, and

¹ S. B. E., Vol. V, Introduction, p. 9.

² Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 134, 160, 172.

³ "The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion according to the Inscriptions. With an Appendix by Dr. Louis H. Gray." From the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXI, 1900, pp. 160-84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁸ *Vide my* ଧର୍ମାଦି ବିଷୟ, ଭାଗ ଖିଲି, Iranian Essays, Part III, pp. 204-10.

they show, that Darius had, as a Zoroastrian, adopted its style from the Avesta Scriptures.

Darius's Inscription.¹

Baga wazarka Auramazdâ
hya igâm bumim adâ,
hya awam asmânam adâ,
hya martiyam adâ,
hya shiyâtîm adâ martiyahyâ.

Translation.

"The Great God Ormazd, (he it was) who gave this earth, who gave that heaven, who gave mankind, who gave life to mankind."

Again, compare the words of the curse, used by Darius in his Inscriptions with those in the Avesta.

Inscriptions.⁶

"If from injury thou mayest not preserve them, may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou be childless; and that which thou mayest do, may Ormazd spoil for thee."

Avesta.²

Ithâ ât yazamaidê Ahurem
Mazdâm yê gâmchâ ashemchâdât,
apaschâ dât, urvarâoschâ vangunish
raôchâoschâ dât bumimchâ
vispâchâ vohû.

Translation.

"Here praise I now Ahura-Mazda,
who has created³ the cattle,
who has created purity,⁴
the water and the good trees,
who created the splendour of
light, the earth, and all good."⁵

Avesta.⁷

"Mayest thou remain without posterity, ever continuing of evil report."⁸

The discoveries of Rawlinson in the matter of the Irânian Cuneiform Inscriptions, had greatly drawn the attention of the Parsis here. The result was, that the Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund, had, on the 16th of August 1858, advertised for a Prize Essay, in Gujarâti, on the subject of the decipherment and translation of these Inscriptions. The prize (Rs. 500) was won by the late Mr. Jehangier Burjorji Vâchâ, who was, for several years, the Honorary Auditor of our Society. It was published, in 1863, under the title of "ઇરાની બીજા શિલે નખતિયા વીરે ઉરોપીયાન મરખકોરોએ કરેલી શોધ" i.e. "The Discoveries by Europeans on Irânian Cuneiform Inscriptions."

¹ At Naksh-i-Rustam. Rawlinson, Journal, R. A. S., Vol. X, Part III, pp. 291. *Vide* also the inscription on the pilasters of the palace of Xerxes. (*Ibid*, pp. 323-24).

² Yacna, Chap. V, 1., XXXVII, 1.

³ Asha may mean flour, i.e., corn.

⁴ Spiegel, Bleeck's Translation, Vol. II, p. 97.

⁵ Behistun Inscriptions, Col. IV, par 17, Journal, R. A. S., Vol. X, Part III, p. 256. *Vide* also Col. IV, Par. 11, p. 251.

⁶ Yacna, Chap. XI, 1, 3.

⁷ Spiegel, Bleeck's translation, Vol. II, p. 60.

Mr. K. R. Cama also has written two papers, in his *Jartoshti Abhyās*,¹ under the head of *अस्तोदन* (*Astodān*), on the subject of some of these inscriptions. One special feature of one of Mr. Cama's papers is, that he has rendered one² of the Cuneiform Inscriptions into the Avesta³ language, to show, that both the languages are similar, or, as it were, sister languages. I find, that Dr. Geldner has latterly followed the same course, in his article on "Persian (Irānian) languages" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,⁴ to show that the Cuneiform language "is almost as antique as Zend, with which it has many points in common."⁵ Dr. Geldner also, has taken the same inscription of Darius for his rendering into the Avesta. He has treated only a small part, while Mr. Cama has treated a large part of the inscription. Their renderings differ in this, that while Mr. Cama has tried to reproduce the Avesta in the phraseology of the Avesta itself, and so, has coined some of the words, Dr. Geldner has used only the Avesta words, found in the extant Avesta. For example, for the Cuneiform word *hya* (i.e., who), Mr. Cama has coined a similar word *hyô* (ह्यौ), while Dr. Geldner has given the word *yô* (यो), which is actually in use. Dr. C. Kossowicz gives the rendering of Mr. Cama in his book of Inscriptions. (*Palæo-Persicæ Achæmenidarum* (1872) Part II. Interpretatio et Commentarii p. 82).

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V, pp. 492-96. 11th October 1855.

In this paper, Prof. Spiegel, at first, refers to the views of Mr.

**"On the Avesta, and the
Zend and Pahlavi languages."
By Prof. Spiegel, in a letter
dated 17th May 1855, to the
Rev. J. Murray Mitchell.**

Romer, expressed in his paper, read before the Society on 20th January 1853 under the title of "Brief Notices of Persian and of the language called Zend," and referred to by me above (pp. 212-15). Romer, as I have pointed out above, did not consider Zend as

a genuine language. He did not acknowledge "the rules of comparative grammar, which are laid down in the well-known works of Professor Bopp"⁶ which formed the "basis of the researches of M. Burnouf and Colonel Rawlinson"⁷ and of Spiegel. So the principles, on which Romer and Spiegel acted, differed. Spiegel, therefore, does not enter into any discussion with Mr. Romer, but gives his own "views on the languages of Persia and their relations to each other."⁸ As Spiegel's views sum up the prevalent views of his school, it is worth giving them here briefly in his own words. At first he speaks about the Avesta.

¹ No. IV., pp. 173-201. No. V., pp. 241-56.

² The inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam.

³ Jartoshtî Abhyâs, No. V., pp. 247-49.

² Jartoshti Abhyās, No. V., pp. 247-49. ⁴ Vol. XVIII. (9th edition), p. 654. ⁵ *Ibid.*, Col. and. ⁶ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 492. ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

^a *Ibid.*

" All the Oriental scholars agree that there exists a close affinity between the old Persian, the Zend—or, as I am inclined to call it, according to M. Oppert's proposition, the old Bactrian—and the Sanskrit ; and the only difference exists with reference to the antiquity of the old Bactrian. Professor Burnouf takes it to be a very old language, and maintains that not the language only, but even the literary productions of the Pârsis in it, belong to a time not so much later than that in which the language of the Vedas was spoken. Burnouf's opinion has been adopted by almost all the continental scholars. Colonel Rawlinson, on the contrary, assures us that Burnouf's arguments have altogether failed to convince him of the close affinity between the Vedic Sanskrit and the old Bactrian, and he maintains that the Achæmenian dialect is the parent of the language of the Avesta. For my own part, although I do not deny that there are fragments of very old writings incorporated in the Avesta, I am inclined to side with Col. Rawlinson, in so far that I presume the Avesta to have been written down, as a whole, in a period much later than the reign of Xerxes or Darius. The comparative purity of the language is easily accounted for, for it is a well-known fact that language degenerates by long usage, and that literary pursuits have by no means a favourable influence on the language itself. Now the old Bactrians were, as Strabo testifies, but little better than Nomads, and therefore by no means a literary nation. The art of writing was entirely unknown or at least very little used, in Bactria ; in the old times, before the invasion of Alexander, all the literary compositions were retained by memory. In the Avesta itself writing is never mentioned, but it is always enjoined to keep the single parts of it in memory and to recite them. Therefore, I think, the Avesta must have been written down at a comparatively late period, after the invasion of Alexander. . . . I do not deny that a good many parts of the book are old, and must have been current a considerable time before they were committed to writing. In many and essential points the precepts of the Avesta entirely agree with the manners and institutions of the old Persians as related to us by the classical writers. Only one must not expect that everything should be alike. The fatherland of the Avesta, as is generally believed for weighty reasons, is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Bactria, and the difference of the country accounts for the difference of religious and political institutions, even if these, taken as a whole, were nearly the same."¹

" At what time and how these religious writings of the old Bactrians first extended their influence beyond their native boundaries,

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., pp. 493-94.

and were accepted as the sacred writings of the western part of Persia, I cannot tell.”¹

The latest consensus of opinion on the subject of the relation, in which the Avesta stands to Sanskrit, and on the subject of its antiquity, seems to be that, summed up by Prof. Geldner, in his article on the “Language and Literature of Persia” in the last edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*.² We know, that scholars, like the late M. Harlez³ and M. Darmesteter⁴ have differed from Dr. Geldner’s views,⁵ but Geldner’s are the generally accepted views, which have found a supporter in another well-known German scholar, Dr. Geiger. Dr. Geldner’s words are worth quoting here, as giving the general views prevalent at present.

“Not only amongst Iranian languages, but amongst all the languages of the Indo-European group, Zend takes one of the very highest places in importance for the comparative philologist. In age it almost rivals Sanskrit; in primitiveness it surpasses that language in many points; it is inferior only in respect of its less extensive literature. . . . The view which became current through Anquetil du Perron that the Avesta is throughout the work of Zoroaster, the founder of the religion, has long been abandoned as untenable. But the opposite view, which is now frequently accepted, that not a single word in the book can lay claim to the authorship of Zoroaster, also appears, on closer study, too sweeping. In the Avesta two stages of the language are plainly distinguishable The older is represented in but a small part of the whole work, the so-called Gâthâs or songs. . . . These Gâthâs are what they claim to be, and what they are honoured in the whole Avesta as being,—the actual productions of the prophet himself or of his time. They bear in themselves irrefutable proofs of their authenticity, bringing us face to face not with the Zoroaster of the legends but with a real person, announcing a new doctrine and way of salvation, no supernatural Being assured of victory, as he is represented in later times, but a mere man, often himself despairing of his final success, and struggling not with spirits and demons but with human conflicts of every sort, in the midst of a society of fellow-believers which was yet feeble and in its earliest infancy. It is almost impossible that a much later period could have produced such unpretentious and almost depreciatory representations of the deeds and personality of the prophet; certainly nothing of the kind is found

¹ *Ibid.* p. 494. ² 9th edition. Vol. XVIII., pp. 653-54.

³ *The Age of the Avesta.* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII, Pt. III.

⁴ *Le Zend Avesta*, Tome III, Introduction, pp. vii-lvii. Chaps. I—IV. S. B. E., Vol. IV. The Vendidad, 2nd edition. Introduction.

⁵ *Vide Prof. Wilhelm's Etudes Avestiques I. La Critique et L'Exégèse de l'Avesta* (1886).

- outside the Gâthâs. If, then, the Gâthâs reach back to the time of Zoroaster, and he himself, according to the most probable estimate, lived as early as the fourteenth century B. C., the oldest component
- parts of the Avesta are hardly inferior in age to the oldest Vedic hymns."¹

Coming to the Pahlavi language, Spiegel says, that it is considered "as a forgery by many learned men; and this opinion is not wholly without foundation, but certainly much exaggerated."² That it is exaggerated, is proved by the fact, that the language of the coins of the late Sassanian kings is shown to be the same as the Pahlavi, "in which the translation of the Avesta is written."³ So it must be a spoken language at that time. But, to this, it is objected, that the Pahlavi contains a good number of Arabic words, a fact which shows, that the language is not as old as that of the Sassanian times, but is one of later date, *i.e.*, of the time after the Arab conquest. To this objection, Spiegel replies, that there are no Arabic words "in the genuine old Pahlavi writings, *viz.*, the translations of the Vendidad and the Yaçna."⁴ Anquetil gives, in a column in the second volume of his *Zend Avesta* (pp. 433-521), a glossary of Zend words, with their Pahlavi equivalents in the second column and their French equivalents as rendered from the Persian or Arabic equivalents given by his tutor, in the third column. Now, in this second column of Pahlavi equivalents, some Arabic words are found, but Spiegel attributes their presence to an inadvertance on the part of Anquetil, in placing, while preparing his original list, the Persian or Arabic equivalents in the second (Pahlavi) column instead of in the third. "In removing the Arabic words," he says, "we remove at the same time the principal reason for doubting the authenticity and the age of the language."⁵

Again, there are a number of Semitic words in the Pahlavi which are similar to Arabic. But they "belong to an Aramaic dialect. That the Aramaic was spoken in the times of the Sasanian kings and understood by themselves, is a well-known fact."⁶

Again, the authenticity of the Pahlavi was doubted on the ground "that the Iranian words in it, as well as the grammatical structure itself, are so very like to the Persian."⁷ Spiegel's answer to this objection is, that "a large number of Persian words, gleaned from the earlier Armenian authors, show satisfactorily enough, that, so early as the third century of our era, the Persian language was nearly on the same level with the language of Firdosi."⁸ But, notwithstanding all this, Spiegel is of opinion, that the Pahlavi language was never spoken "in the form we have it before us. Aramaic words could

¹ Encyc. Britt. (9th edition), XVIII, pp. 653, 654.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V, p. 494.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

never be mixed in that manner in any living language. It is merely the language of books and . . . the official style in the edicts of the later Sasanian kings."¹

Now, in what part of the country, the Pahlavi had its origin? It was in Sevâd, the modern Irak Arabi, whose inhabitants are reported by Ibn Mokaffa, a Parsi convert to Mahomedanism, to have "used in their correspondence a kind of style where Persian and Syriac were mixed together."² "This country was inhabited by a mixed population, partly Persians, partly Nabatæans. (The Nabatæans spoke a corrupted Armaic dialect). Both languages, the Armaic and the Persian, were therefore known to the people of that country; the Armaic was, moreover, the medium by which the literary and commercial communications of Persia with the western provinces were maintained."³

In support of this statement, Spiegel refers to the similar words of the Pahlavi, which, he says, belong not only to the Armaic tongue "but also to the eastern branch of it (to which the Nabatæans belonged, according to the testimony of Barhebræus and other Syriac grammarians) The Persians were in the habit of visiting the Syriac Academy at Edessa and got all their learning from the Syrians."⁴

"After the downfall of the Sasanian Empire, not only the old Persian religion declined, but the high authority of Armaic learning also ceased, and was soon supplanted by the Arabic tongue and literature. The bulk of the Persian nation was converted to Islamism, and even the few Pârsîs who remained in Persia forgot by degrees the spelling of the Armaic words, and, only anxious to retain the signification of the word, they pronounced the Persian word instead of the Armaic one. For instance, if they found written in their text the Armaic word *lahma*, "bread," they pronounced *nân*, the Persian synonym for it. By this fact is explained how the Pârsîs could ever forget the right spelling of the Armaic words in Palhavi. It is again Ibn Mokaffa who makes us aware of the proceeding just mentioned."⁵

With reference to the writer, Barhebræus, referred to by Spiegel, I may draw the attention of my readers to his work, recently translated and published, by Dr. Budge, under the name of "Oriental Wit and Wisdom." This book shows, that the author was much conversant with Persian literature. He gives several Persian tales and sayings.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 496.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 496. *Vide* Mr. K. R. Cama's Jartoshti Abhyâs, No. VI, pp. 361-64, for his views on the meaning of the words Pahlavi and Huzvâresh.

⁶ I have published, in Gujarâti, in the columns of the Nur-i-Elam, a local monthly periodical, a few extracts from this book, in articles, entitled "બાર હોબરેકસે બહુવેલી ઇરાની દાનાવાની શીખામણ અને યુનાની દાનાવાની શીખામણ." (The Nur-i-Elam of April and May 1900, Vol. XXX, Nos. 4 and 5.)

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 497-520. 22nd November 1855.

In this paper, Dr. Wilson reviews the work of the Society during the preceding twelve years, *i.e.*, from 1843 to 1854. This review is more exhaustive than the two preceding ones, referred to by him in this paper.¹ At the conclusion of the proceedings of the meeting, where this paper was read, Lord Elphinstone, the Patron of the Society, while moving a resolution of thanks to the learned author of the paper, expressed his satisfaction at the work done by the Society.

Dr. Wilson begins his review with the literature of the Zoroastrians. He refers to the following publications on this subject :—

1. His book on "The Parsi Religion"² dedicated to the office-bearers and members of the Society (1843).
2. His Persian "Zarthusht-Nāmah."³ This book has been translated into English by Mr. E. B. Eastwick. The translation is published in the appendix (A.) of Dr. Wilson's "The Parsi Religion" (pp. 477-522).
3. "The Vandīdād, Yaçna and Vispard of the Avastā, in the Zend language but Gujarātī character, and with a Gujarātī Translation, Commentary, and Paraphrase, by the late Frāmīñ Aspandīārjī." It was published by the Society at a cost of about two to three thousand rupees from a manuscript copy purchased by Dr. Wilson for about Rs. 500 from the late Fardunji Murzbanji in 1835.
4. The Edition of the Zend Avesta by Westergaard, who had visited Bombay in 1842, and Persia in 1843, on a literary mission to collect materials for his edition, and who had now and then communicated the results of his studies to the Society.
5. Spiegel's edition of the Zend Avesta with translation which was being prepared and printed.
6. Rev. Murray Mitchell's papers, giving the abstracts of papers on Zend literature published in Europe.

In this paper, Dr. Wilson quotes, at some length, Westergaard's views, from the preface of his edition of the Zend Avesta, on the antiquity of the Zend Avesta, on the Pahlavi language, and on such cog-

¹ The first was contained in his address to the Society on 27th January 1836, and the second, a very short one, was contained in his letter of resignation as President, on his going to Europe, at the end of the year 1842 (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 234*).

² "The Parsi religion, as contained in the Zand-Avesta and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity (1843)."

³ The Zarthusht-Nāmah of Zarthusht Behram, A. Y., 647. From a MS. in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, dated A. Y., 1005. Bombay, Lithographed by Āppā Rāma (1842).

nate subjects. Dr. Wilson had Westergaard, as it were, for his *guru* for guidance on Iranian subjects, while Rev. Murray Mitchell had Spiegel. He agrees entirely "with the general view of matters" expressed by Westergaard about the antiquity of the Avesta.

In this volume (the fifth), we have, side by side, the views of Spiegel communicated in two consecutive months (October and November 1855), through Rev. Murray Mitchell, and the views of Westergaard, communicated through Rev. Dr. Wilson. In some points they are diametrically opposed. For example, Spiegel says of the Pahlavi, that the Pahlavi language of the translation of the Avesta is the same as that on the coins. He says²: "A large number of coins, which have been so assiduously collected and so skilfully explained by such men as Olshausen, Thomas, and Mordtmann bear undoubtedly inscriptions in the same language in which the translation of the Avesta is written." Again, Spiegel considers this identical Pahlavi—the Pahlavi of the coins and the Pahlavi of the writings—to be Aryan, though latterly mixed with similar words of the Armaic language. Now, Westergaard, as referred to in the paper read by Dr. Wilson, differs from him altogether. He considers the language of the coins to be altogether different from the language of the translations, and he calls the former to be Semitic and the latter Aryan. He says: "But the name Pehlevi, has, in so far as it concerns here, two distinct significations. The official language of the Sassanian kings was called Pehlevi and this is not any Iranian tongue, but, as far as I have been able to decipher it, a Semitic one, in two closely related dialects, with some intermixture of Persian words. As this idiom was the only one which the Sassanians employed on their coins, and in inscriptions placed not only at the western borders of their empire, but also in the very centre, at the ancient Persepolis, I scarcely doubt its being the only Pehlevi language of that age, the only one used in writing, and consequently opine everything composed in those days to have been indited in what I would call the Sassanian Pehlevi. But this Semitic language differs essentially from what Neriosangh (the Sanskrit translator of a part of the Avastâ) calls Pehlevi (Pahlavi bhâshâ), which has, indeed, the same written character, but is by nature Iranian and particularly Persian. This is the proper Zand or *commentary* language; it is employed in the composition of several works long after the fall of the Sassanians, and has remained in use to this day."³

Spiegel is of opinion, that the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, are of the Sassanian times, but Westergaard thinks, that they may belong "to a period shortly before or after the fall of the Sassanians."⁴ Then he says: "These translations may have been based upon older ones,

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V., p. 503.* ³ *Ibid.*, p. 494. ² *Ibid.*, p. 504. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

indited in the Sassanian Pehlevi, whence also Semitic forms might have been taken."¹

For the latest view, generally accepted, on the Pahlavi language, I would refer my readers to Dr. Haug's Essays.² For a comprehensive review of the Pahlavi literature, I would refer my readers to Dr. West's Essay on "Pahlavi Literature" in "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie."³

The Zarthusht-nâme, referred to by Dr. Wilson, has been often quoted by Anquetil du Perron in his Zend Avesta.⁴ In his Life of Zoroaster, given in this book, he has followed this Persian Zarthusht-nâme. It appears, that Anquetil has translated this Persian Zarthusht-nâme in Latin also. It exists in manuscript in Anquetil's papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and is referred to by M. Blochet in his catalogue⁵ of Parsee books in that library. The book has been translated into Gujarâti by the late Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byrâmjee Sanjânâ⁶ under the auspices of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund under the charge of the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet.

I would here draw the attention of my readers, to the latest book on the subject, published by M. Frédéric Rosenberg, at St. Petersburg in 1904, under the title of "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nâma) de Zartusht-i-Bahrâm Ben Pajdû." It is a very excellent book. It gives the Persian text of the Persian Zarthusht-nâme, and then the Persian text of a part of the Dabistân which treats of Zoroaster. It gives a translation into French with copious notes. The preface is interesting. It gives a list of technical Persian or Zoroastrian words.

I would also draw the attention of my readers to the late M. Joachim Menant's "Zoroastre. Essai sur la Philosophie religieuse de la Perse (1857)," and to Mr. K. R. Cama's "Life of Zoroaster" (પ્રજ્ઞાન અર્થે જરોસ્તરના જન્મનારના એકવાક, 1870, 2nd edition, 1890). The first part of M. Menant's book presents, what we may call, the traditional account of the life of Zoroaster, as presented by the Pahlavi and Persian books. Mr. Cama's book gives the account, as presented by the Avesta. Prof. Eugène Wilhelm's paper, entitled "L' Expédition de Ninos et des Assyriens contre un roi de la Bactrie" (Zoroastre) (1891) is worth reading in connection with this subject. Prof. Jackson's book "Zoroaster the Prophet of Irân," will, for several years, remain as a standard work on the subject.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., V, p. 505. ² 2nd edition, pp. 78-92. ³ Band II. Abschnitt II., 3.

⁴ Tome I. Pt. II, pp. 1-70. *Vie de Zoroastre.*

⁵ "Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persians) de la Bibliothèque Nationale" par E. Blochet, 1900. No. LXIX. 2, p. 106.

⁶ પ્રજ્ઞાન અર્થે જરોસ્તરના જન્મનારના એકવાકમાં દશગુરુ જરોસ્તર બેહરામ બનાવેલાં કારસી પુરાતકનો શરૂઆતી તરજુમો. ઈનાંમનો રેસાલો. ૧૮૮૪. A second edition of this book has been published in 1902 by Mr. Nusservânji Framji Bilimoria.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 101-33. 9th April 1868.

In this paper, the author describes the Legend of Tristan, as known in its supposed home, Britain, and gives the different versions of it, as it spread from one place to another. He points to it, as an instance of the common fact of "the deification of the powers of nature."¹ He thinks, that, at first, it was an Arian legend, and that it can be compared with that of Feridun in the Shāhnāme. The legend, as described by Mr. Leith, runs as follows :—

"Tristan of Lyonesse, the hero, is royally descended. The mysterious gloom, which shrouds the very threshold of his life, appears prophetic of the tragedy about to be unfolded. His mother, on learning that his father has fallen in battle, dies in giving him birth. Kept in ignorance of his parentage, the orphan Prince is secretly brought up by Rual, a trusty follower, and educated by him in all knightly accomplishments. When grown to man's estate, Tristan presents himself at the court of his childless uncle, King Mark of Cornwall, who, on hearing his history, adopts him as a son. To save his country from paying a shameful tribute of men and money to the neighbouring Irish, Tristan slays Morold, their champion, in single combat. The youthful victor, however, at the same time receives a dangerous wound from the poisoned weapon of his foe, which no native art can cure. He, therefore, absents himself from his uncle's court, and lands disguised in Ireland, where he is fortunately cured by Isolde, surnamed the Fair, daughter of the Irish King. Tristan eventually returns to Cornwall, and paints the charms of the Princess in such glowing colours, that Mark resolves to make her his Queen. Tristan undertakes to woo her on behalf of his uncle, and journeys to Ireland for that purpose. On his arrival at the Irish court, he learns that the King has promised his daughter's hand to the man who should rid the land of a terrible dragon. Tristan succeeds in killing the monster, and claims the prize in his uncle's name. The King gives his consent, and Tristan sets sail with Isolde the Fair for Cornwall. On the voyage they both unwittingly drink of a Magic Potion, entrusted to the care of Brangæne, a waiting-woman, and destined for King Mark. This Potion possesses the property of making those who partake of it deeply enamoured of each other; and it is upon this effect on Tristan and Isolde that the whole story turns. Isolde becomes the wife of Mark, but continues devoted to Sir Tristan. Mark discovers the attachment, and persecutes the

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IX., p. 103.*

lovers, who practise various deceptions in order to effect a meeting, and even succeed in making their escape together. Isolde the Fair afterwards returns to her husband, while Tristan, driven to despair, weds another Isolde, named "of the White Hand." Our hero vainly endeavours to forget his first love in deeds of reckless daring. On again receiving a grievous hurt in battle, he sends for her who alone can work his cure. His messenger is instructed to hoist, on his return, white sails, should his errand prove successful, and black sails if the reverse. Isolde of the White Hand, jealous of her rival, tells Tristan that she descries a black sail on the horizon, though in reality the sail is a white one. Bereft of hope he dies, and Isolde the Fair, finding, on her arrival, that her aid has come too late, dies also, of grief, by his side. King Mark, when he hears of the Magic Potion and its unhappy effects, causes the lovers to be buried in one tomb, on which he plants a rose and vine. These afterwards grow up so closely entwined one with another that none can ever separate them."¹

Having described the legend, and given its various versions, and having referred to it, as an instance of "the deification of the powers of nature," the author says: "With regard to Tristan, a very interesting question arises as to whether he is an ancient mythic personage venerated by the Aryan family prior to their migration into Europe. Of this I believe some evidence may be gathered from the history of Ferîdûn, the celebrated hero of Persia."²

The legend of Ferîdûn, as summed up by Mr. Leith, is as follows:—

"Ferîdûn, the son of Abtîn and Firânek is born in the reign of Zohâk. That King, warned by wise men that the child would overturn his kingdom, seeks after his life. Ferîdûn's father is killed, but he himself is saved by his mother, who flees with him into India, where he is brought up in secret by a hermit. When sixteen years of age he demands of his mother the history of his birth. On hearing of the persecution by Zohâk, he determines to obtain his revenge. The legend proceeds to narrate his victory over the King, whom he nails, Prometheus-like, to a rock, in obedience to a divine command."³

The Avesta name of Ferîdûn is Thraêtaona, which has its corresponding forms in the Vedas. Leith identifies one of these, *viz.*, Tritan, with Tristan of the legend, and thinks, that the legend of Ferîdûn is well nigh the same, as that of Tristan. The drink of the Haoma juice by Ferîdûn's father, which led to Ferîdûn's birth, is compared to the drink of the "magic potion" in the Tristan legend. The fight of Feri-

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 101-02.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

dûn with Zohâk, which name is a corruption of Azi Dahâka, wherein Azi means a dragon, is compared with Tristan's fight with the dragon in the story.

Mr. Leith misses one other point of comparison. It is this, that as in the Tristan legend, the queen of King Mark is sought by Tristan, so, in the legend of Ferîdûn, the wives of Zohâk are sought by Ferîdûn, who makes them his wives.

But, in spite of these few points of resemblance, I do not think these legends agree in their main features.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 147-218. 9th January 1875.

This paper is a complete resumé of the different accounts of the fall

"The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sasanian Dynasty." By E. Rehatsek.

of Persia under the Sassanides, and the rise of the Arab power in Persia, as given by Tabari, Mirkhond and Ibn Khaldûn. All the materials he had to work upon, were, as Prof. Rehatsek says, one-sided, because there is no authentic account of the times, preserved in any Zoroastrian books. Even during these last 30 years, since the time when Rehatsek wrote, no new important Zoroastrian materials have come to hand.

Rehatsek does not say, why reliable historical sources "from the other side," *i.e.*, from the Parsees, are not found. Apart from the generally accepted fact, that a country wishes to sing more of its victories than of its defeats, it must be borne in mind, that the Arabs would not tolerate any attempts on the part of the Zoroastrian Persians to chronicle an account of their wars with the Arabs from their point of view. The Arabs destroyed most of their ancient literature, and so, even if an account of the war had been written by a Persian, it would not have been allowed to continue, because, it would present a phase of the events which the Arabs would not like.

The first chapter of the paper treats of the commencement of the war by the Arabs during the Khalifate of Abu Bekr, who first thought of subjugating the little kingdom of Hirat which, "although it contained an entirely Arab population," was "tributary to Persia." This town of Hirat has rather a long and varied history of its own, in relation to its Arab population and Persian suzerainty. It is referred to in the Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i-Airân² as being founded by Shapuhar of Ardashir. I would refer my readers for this history to my paper on "The Cities of Iran" based on this new Pahlavi treatise, published in our Journal (Vol. XX, pp. 156-90).

¹ Journal XI, p. 148.

² Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zariran, &c., pp. 74-78 and 150-51. Vide my paper on "The Cities of Iran," Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 177-78.

Prof. Rehatsek gives, in this paper, "a chronological table of the sovereigns of Persia" from Shiruyeh (Kobad II) to Yazdegird, the last monarch, according to different European authorities,² who differ not only in dates, but also in the names of the successive sovereigns. We also find a difference in the names and dates, as given by Eastern authorities, and those, as given by the Pahlavi Jāmāspi. Even the Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian versions of the Jāmāspi differ in these dates, which is due to the faults of the copyists.³

The last portion of this very interesting and exhaustive paper is very important from the point of view of the Indian Parsis. Rehatsek says, "The complete subjugation of the vast extent of the Persian monarchy took place only by degrees, and revolts now and then still took place, but were suppressed without very great difficulty, as no extensive organizations or ramifications of them among the various districts were possible. These insurrections were frequent enough up to the death of the Khalif Sulaimān B. A'bd-al-Melek, which took place A.H. 99 (717-18). The last great effort of the Persians to recover their ancient independence occurred also in the 8th century of our era, but the Rauzat-al-ṣafa, from which I take the account, does not give the date. Sinbād, the Zoroastrian, an influential inhabitant of Nishāpūr, raised the standard of revolt by first proclaiming his intention to liberate the Persians from the Musalmān yoke in his native city, and inviting the population of the district of Rey, as well as the whole of Tāberistān, to make common cause with him. Sinbād first marched to Kazvin, with the intention of taking possession of it, but was disappointed. In Rey he was more successful; he not only took it, but slew its governor, and obtained an enormous booty of arms and other articles. When he had collected an army of 110,000 men, he declared that the end of Islām was at hand, that a scion of the Sāssānian dynasty would make his appearance, under whose command he would march to Mekkah and would destroy the Ka'bah. When Abu Ja'fer Maṣṣūr heard of what was taking place, he marched with his army to Sāwa; Sinbād, too, hastened to encounter him, carrying also many Musalmān women whom he had placed on camels. The battle which took place was decisive: Sinbād was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tāberistān; his army was partly destroyed, but many of the fugitives perished of thirst in the desert. The total

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 148n.

² Rehatsek follows Mordtmann, whose order of chronology is given by Mr. K. R. Cama in his "Jamshedi Naoroz. The New Year's day of the Ancient Persian Empire." (Translation from the German of Dr. Mordtmann, 1874), p. 33.

³ Vide in K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, my article entitled "The years of the reigns of the later Irānian kings according to Jāmāspi," p. 284. Vide my Pahlavi Translations Part III, Jāmāspi, pp. 93-94 and 116-117.

number of those who lost their lives is stated to have amounted to 70,000."¹

I have quoted the last part of Rehatsek's paper at some length, because, it is important from the point of view of the later history of the Parsees, who, as said by the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, had emigrated to India from Kohistân², after a stay there of 100 years after the downfall and death of their last king Yazdegard. It appears, that the band of the Parsees, who emigrated to India in about A.D. 766, were some of the fugitives, referred to by Rehatsek, in the above passage, on the authority of Mahomedan writers. I would ask my readers, to read in this connection, Rehatsek's paper on "The Bâw and Gâobârah Sephabuds along the southern Caspian shores."³

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, pp. XXXVI-XLIV. 20th October 1875.

In this paper Dr. Andreas, who had come to Bombay, on his way to Persia, gave a sketch of the subjects worth investigating in Persia and which he proposed to investigate. He considered, that "the study of the actual geography and ethnography of Persia" was necessary to give "a full insight into the history and civilization of the Persian race."⁴ He attached great importance to the investigation of geographical names with a view to examine their identity with old names.

Of the city of Rishehr, "on the road from Bushire to Shiraz," he says that its name is "a contraction of Riw-Ardeshir," said to have been refounded by Ardeshir Bâbegân, the first Sâssanian king. Now, the Kârnâmeh-i-Ardeshir Bâbegân refers to four cities, as founded by this monarch—(1) Râs Shâpuhar, (2) Artâshir Gadman, (3) Bôkht Artâshir, and (4) Ramashneh-i-Artâshir.⁵ Tabari⁶ gives the names of six cities founded by Ardeshir—(1) Ardeshîr-Âbâd, (2) New-Ardeshîr, (3) Hormuzd Ardeshir, (4) Aspâbâd Ardeshîr, (5) Aspâ Ardeshîr, and (6) New-Ardeshîr between Medina and Mossul. According to Firdousi⁷ he had founded six cities, and he gives the names of four—(1) Khareh-i-Ardeshir, (2) Râm Ardeshir, (3) Ormazd Ardeshir, and (4) Barkeh-i-Ardeshir. We do not find in these different names, a city of the name of Riw Ardeshir, as founded by Ardeshir. So, I think, that the city of Rishehr, referred to by Dr. Andreas, must either be Râs-Shapuhar or New Shahpur corrupted into Rishehr.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. XI, pp. 217-18.

² Kohistân includes the provinces of Ghilân, Mâzenderân and Taberistân.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 410. *Vide* below, pp. 241-44.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI. Proceedings, p. xxxvii.

⁵ Kârnâmeh-i-Artâshir-i-Pâpakân, by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, ch. X, 17; IV, 17, 8, 3.

⁶ Tabari par Zotenberg III, p. 74.

⁷ Mehl V, pp. 303, 87.

Dr. Andreas refers in his paper to the cuneiform inscription at Murgab, which reads "I, Cyrus, the king of Achæmenide", and which is attributed by many to Cyrus the Great, who founded the Achæmenian dynasty, and by some, to Cyrus the younger, who fell at the battle of Cunaxa. From the fact, that the figure, over which this inscription is engraved, "bears an Egyptian dress, peculiar to certain Egyptian deities and to the divinized kings of Meroë," Dr. Andreas thinks, that, it belongs to a brother of Xerxes, whose proper name he assumes to be Cyrus. According to Ctesias, he "was Viceroy of Egypt, fell there in a battle against the rebel Inaros, and was brought to Persia to be buried there."³

On one of the two roads—the eastern one that leads from Shirâz to Bunder Âbbâs—there lies a town, not far from Khir, named Tirdêh. Andreas identifies it with the town named Tîrouzé by Tabari⁴, and placed by him in the country of Khir and in the dependency of Istakhr. Tabari speaks of it as the native place of Ardeshir Babegân.

On the western road leading from Shirâz to Bunder Âbbâs, there lies the town of Firuzâbâd, originally called Gour. Dr. Andreas says that "the actual name, Firuzâbâd, was given to it by Buid-sultan Azad-ed-daulat after its capture."⁵ The reason of this change of name was this. Whenever the above-mentioned Azad-ed-daulat went to the town of Gour, the people said *ملک بغور رفت* i.e., the king has gone to Gour. Now, the word Gour, also means in Persian "a grave." So the sentence also meant "The king has gone to his grave." They say, that the governor did not like these unlucky words and so changed the name Gour to Firuzâbâd.⁶

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XII, pp. 219-299. March 1876.

Prof. Rehatsek tries to show in this paper, that "the Jews had fol-

"Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the Division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two Kingdoms (B.C. 975) till the Entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem (B.C. 333); and a View of Jewish Civilization." By E. Rehatsek.

lowed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, so that they were not only in historical, but also in religious contact with them."⁷ Before considering what he calls their "foreign gods," he gives "a brief account of the systems of religion prevalent among the four great nations (the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medians and the Persians) with whom the Jews came in

contact during the period under discussion."⁷

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XI, Proceedings, p. xxxix.

² *Ibid.*

³ Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 67.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XI, Proceedings, p. xl.

⁵ Vide my *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân, Shatrôîha-i-Aîrân, &c.*, pp. 99, 157, 170. Vide my papers on "The Cities of Irân" and "The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern writers" (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX, p. 184 and p. 223).

⁶ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 221.

⁷ *Ibid.*

At first, he treats of the religions of Assyria and Babylonia together in one group, and then those of Media and Persia in another group. Of the first group, he says: "The theology of the Assyrians, who were Semites like the Hebrews and Arabs, and of the Babylonians, who were Hamites, will not become well-known until the many thousands of clay tablets now mouldering on the shelves of the British Museum are deciphered."¹ That has been done to a great extent now, and we have now more than one book on the subject.

Asshur, "the king of all the gods" among the Assyrians, is identified by some with the Ahura of the Persians. "Of the two chief emblems connected with the worship of Asshur, the first is the winged circle or globe, considered to be also a symbol of Ormazd."² European savants consider it a symbol of Ormazd, but Parsee scholars believe it to be the Farôhar or the guiding spirit. In several sculptures of Persia, a king is represented, as praying before a Fire-altar with a winged figure hovering in the air. This figure is believed by the Parsees to be a figure of the Farôhar (or the guiding spirit) of the king who prays. In the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII.) the Fravashi or the Farôhar, is represented as coming down to the earth in the form of a bird (*mânayen ahê yatha nâ mereghô huparêno*, *i.e.*, like a man in the form of a bird with good wings).³

That this is not the figure or the symbol of Ormazd, is proved by the fact, that, had it been so, it would have been the same in all cases. But it varies in different cases. It has been found in the case of one and the same king, that the winged figure in his picture of a young age has young features, and that in his picture of an old age, has old features. This shows, that, the winged figure is a picture of his own Fravashi or Farôhar, which is his own prototype. Had it been that of Ormazd, it would have been the same in all cases.

The second symbol connected with the worship of Asshur is the sacred tree. This sacred tree is the palm-tree among the Babylonians. Now, the Persians also had a sacred tree. Even up to now, the Zoroastrians use the leaf of the date-palm in their ritual.

Coming to the second group, *viz.*, the religion of the Medes and Persians, the two "branches of the great Aryan family, allied in language and religion," the author says, that though they "conquered their two Semitic neighbours, Assyria and Babylonia, and constituted the great Persian Empire," their unity of government brought on "no unity of language. Hence the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis, &c., consisting of an Indo-European, a Tartar, and a Semitic column. . . . The Magi, who considerably modified the

¹ *Ibid.*² *Ibid.*, p. 222.³ Yasht XIII, 70.

religion of the Persians and the Medes, were a tribe of the latter, but may be recognized as Scyths."¹

Rehatsek speaks of the prevalence of two elements in the religious system of the Persians. (1) Firstly, what he calls, the elemental worship and ignolatri, which came to them from the Magi, who were a tribe of the Medes and may be recognized as Scyths. (2) The dualistic doctrine, which is originally Persian or Zoroastrian.

The Persian nation also, had, as a whole, two elements: (1) the Persians proper, and (2) the Medes, who included the Magi.

Now, what Herodotus describes as the religion of the Persians, is the religion of the masses, among whom the Mede or Magian element was prevalent to a greater extent. In Herodotus, there is no trace of Dualism, and no mention of Ormazd; whereas, conversely, in the inscriptions, there is nothing elemental, but the worship of the supreme God under the name of Ormazd. From this, Rehatsek draws the conclusion, that "Herodotus has had evidence of the religion of the masses only, which had not accepted Dualism,—that is to say, the religion of their Persian conquerors, the religion of the state or established worship; whilst, on the other hand, the absence of the mention of elemental, originally Scythian, and strictly Magian, religion in the inscriptions is no evidence of its not having constituted at the time of their composition a part of the Persian religion, as the omission may easily be accounted for by the great pre-eminence which the adoration of Ormazd naturally enjoyed after, as well as before, the addition of Magism to it. The fact that Herodotus knew of no other than the elemental religion is sufficient evidence of its extent; for not only was it predominant among the Medes, but also the bulk of the dominant Persians were well disposed towards it."²

Rehatsek says that the religion of the Persians had gone through five stages, by the time, when Darius came to the throne of Persia.

- (1) In its old home of Central Asia, where it flourished as the old Aryan religion, it was, to some extent, Nature-worship. Their worship was then common with that of their Indian brethren.
- (2) The second stage was that of "the belief in Ormazd as the supreme Creator." "It boldly declares that at the head of the good intelligences is a single great Intelligence, Ahurō Mazdāo, the highest object of adoration, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe. This is its greatest glory. It sets before the soul a single Being as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship."³

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 230.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

- (3) Dualism.
- (4) Fusion with Magism, on coming into contact with the Medes, who carried their thoughts from Nature to Nature's God.
- (5) Purification of the religion by Darius after the Magophonia (an annual festival to commemorate his massacre of the Median Magi).¹

Coming to the subject of the contact of the Jews with the Persians, Rehatsek refers to the several Persian kings and their services to the Jews.

Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, had cruelly put out Zedekiah's eyes and had otherwise ill-treated the Jews. He died in B.C. 561, after a reign of 43 years. He was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, who in turn was succeeded in 559 B.C. by Neriglissar, who died in 556 B.C. It was during his reign, that "Cyrus, the Persian, dethroned Astyages the Median (in 558 B.C.) and established the supremacy of the Persians." Neriglissar was succeeded by his son Laborosoarchod, who reigned only for nine months, being "murdered by Nabonadius, who mounted the throne 555 B.C. and was the last king of Babylon,"² Cyrus having taken it in 538 B.C. "Cyrus found among his new subjects an oppressed race, in whose religion he recognized a considerable resemblance to his own. . . . He regarded the Jews with especial favour as monotheists, which he showed by allowing them to return to their country to rebuild the Temple, and bringing forth by the hand of Mithredath, his treasurer, the sacred vessels formerly taken from it, and surrendering them to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah." The Temple was begun in 535 B.C. But the dissension among the different sections delayed it. The pseudo-Smerdis "ordered the works to be stopped about 522 B.C." because it was represented to him by the rival tribes "that the Jews were building the city in order to become rebellious."⁴ A decree of Darius in 519 B.C. permitted the continuation of the work, which was finished in 515 B.C.

Darius died in 486 B.C. and his son Xerxes succeeded him. He had a Jewish queen, named Esther, who is said to have saved the Jews from a massacre at the hands of the Minister of Xerxes. Not only that, but she managed to persuade the king to allow the Jews to kill, on a particular day, all their enemies. The Purim feast of the Jews commemorates this event.⁵

Xerxes was succeeded by Artaxerxes I, known as Macrocheir, *i.e.*, the long-handed, by the Greeks. The Jews, it is said, were threatened by two perils in his reign. The first was of that kind, which, a large number of Parsees, at present, are afraid, would overtake them. It was "that, if the Jews had continued their

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233. ² *Ibid.*, p. 255. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 256. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 257. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

inter-marriages with foreign nations, as they had commenced to do, and did on their return from Babylon, they would soon have become so commingled with them as to cease to be a separate people. Ezra had brought his colony from Babylon during the seventh year of this king, *i.e.*, 458 B.C. and Nehemiah about 434 B.C. Ezra collected all the men of Judah and Benjamin in Jerusalem, and exacted a solemn promise from all who had taken strange wives and begotten children, to divorce their wives. Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice : 'As thou hast said, so must we do.'

Nehemiah also purged the nations from strange marriages, and freed it from the second danger, which consisted in the defenceless position of the country, enhanced by its remoteness from Persia, and exposed to be pillaged before aid could arrive. Nehemiah obtained a decree from Artaxerxes to fortify the city in the twentieth year of his reign, and its walls were built." ¹

Artaxerxes I was succeeded by his son Xerxes II, who reigned only forty-five days, and was murdered by his illegitimate son Sogdianus, who, after a reign of six and a half months, was in his turn murdered by his brother Darius Nothus (B.C. 424 to 405), who, after a reign of nineteen years, was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes II.²

In the reign of this Artaxerxes II, Bagoses, the Persian General, is said to have "polluted the temple and imposed tribute on the Jews, —that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels."³ It seems that the Persian General Bagoses was a friend of Jesus (Jeshua), the brother of John. "It was . . . a feature of the Persian system of administration to allow the nations under their rule a good deal of self-government and internal independence."⁴ This being the case, "even the civil governors of Judæa, which was a portion of the Syrian satrapy, were always Jews; they, however, did not succeed each other very regularly, and therefore the high priests, *i.e.*, spiritual governors, came to be regarded as not merely the religious, but also the political heads of the nation."⁵

Now, John was one of such religious and political heads. He was provoked by his brother Joshua in the temple itself. In the quarrel which ensued he killed his brother. It is believed, though it is not clear, that it was, as a punishment of this crime by John, that Bagoses, the friend of the murdered brother Joshua, imposed the above-said tribute on John and his Jews. This, then, was the result of internal dissensions.

Artaxerxes II was succeeded by Artaxerxes III (B.C. 359 to 338), who was murdered at the instigation of somebody in his "Zanánah" and was succeeded by Darius III, surnamed Codomanus, whose rule was

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260, n. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26c.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

overthrown by Alexander. "Jaddua, the son of the abovementioned John, succeeded his father in the high priesthood, and was a contemporary of Darius III, who sent one Sanballat, a Cuthæan by birth, of which stock also the Samaritans were, to Samaria as governor; this officer had a daughter, Nicaso by name, whom he gave in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, and partner with him in the high-priesthood. This marriage was a great stumbling-block to the elders of Jerusalem, who considered it to be a step encouraging all men desirous to enter into alliances with strange women, which would bring on a mixture with foreign nations; accordingly, they commanded Manasseh either to divorce his wife, or to refrain from approaching the altars, the high-priest himself joining the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. The evil had, however, already gone too far, for not only the people of Jerusalem, but many even of the priests and Levites, had contracted such marriages, so that a great disturbance arose; they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat gave money, as well as habitations and land for tillage, to gratify his son-in-law, whom he also promised to make governor of all the places he himself ruled over, and high-priest; he further promised to build him a temple like that of Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the hills in Samaria. All this was to be done with the approbation of Darius the King."¹ But Darius was shortly afterwards defeated and succeeded by Alexander the Great. Sanballat persuaded Alexander and got his leave to erect a new temple, of which he appointed Manasseh as the head-priest.

Rehatsek's paper ends with the reign of Alexander, but we find that the contact had long continued, even up to the Sassanian times. Of the influence of a Jewish lady as the queen of a Persian king, like that in the case of queen Esther and Ahuserus (Xerxes), we have a notable instance in that of Shishindôkht, the Jewish queen of Yazdagard I. It is referred to, in the Pahlavi treatise of *Shatrôihâ-i-Airân*.² She is said to be the daughter of one Resh Galutha, who "is called" *Yahoudgân Shâh*, *i.e.*, "the king of the Jews." This phraseology refers to the custom above referred to, *viz.*, that the high-priest or the spiritual leader was also considered to be the political ruler. The words "Resh Galutha," used in the Pahlavi treatise, mean "the Prince of the Captivity or the Exilarch."³ Albiruni⁴ refers to the political power exercised by these head-priests. Some of these Jewish head-priests enjoyed royal honours in the court of some of the Sassanian kings of Persia. Huna, the son of Nathan, was a special favourite of Yazdagard.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62. ² *Vide* my "Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân and Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Seistân," pp. 105, 113, 137-40. ³ "History of the Jews," by Graetz, Vol. II, p. 513.

⁴ "The Chronology of Ancient Nations" by Albiruni, translated by Dr. Sachau, pp. 19, 68.

Graetz,' in his History of the Jews, says on this point "He (Yezdagard) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians. On the days of homage there were present at his court the three representatives of the Babylonian Jews : Ashi, of Sora ; Mar-zutra, of Pumbeditha ; and Amemar of Nahardea. Huna bar Nathan, who, if he was no Prince of the Captivity, must nevertheless have been possessed of considerable influence, held frequent intercourse with Jezdijird's court. Such a mark of attention on the part of a Persian king . . . may be regarded as a proof of high favour." It appears that not only Jewish princesses but other Jewish ladies had begun influencing the Persians in one way or another. It is for this reason, that we find the Dinkard* deprecating marriages with Jewish women.³

According to the abovenamed Pahlavi treatise, the foundation of the town of Kharzem, (modern Khiva) in ancient Persia, is attributed to the Rish-i-Yahoudgân,⁴ i.e., "the chief of the Jews," and that of the towns of Shus, Shushter and Gae (in Ispahân) to the Jewish queen Shishindôkht. Ispahân, the ancient capital of Persia, or at least a part of it, was at one time called Yahoudieh.⁵ On the subject of the Jews and the Persians, Prof. Darmesteter's "Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme" (Revue des Études Juives T. XVII. pp. 1-15 and 41-56) may be read with advantage. Mr. L. H. Gray's article "Jews in Pehlavi Literature" in the Jewish Encyclopædia, which is being published, presents an interesting view of the subject.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XII, pp. 410-45, 9th September 1876.

This paper "treated of the Sephabuds of Mâzanderân and Tabaristân, and touched upon the subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sephabuds of the Bâw and Gâobârah dynasty, whose history was given, are concerned."⁶

The author gives in this paper, a short history of some of the Zoroastrian principalities that existed in the mountain districts, north of the Elburz range, even long after the downfall of the Persian Empire under Yazdagard. "The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist . . . and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah Sephabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the

¹ Vol. II, p. 617. ² Dinkard by Dastur Peshotan, Vol. II, p. 90.

³ Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîran, &c., p. 141.

⁴ For the position, which this Rish-i-Yahoudgân, i.e., the Exilarch enjoyed in Persia, in later times, vide "History of the Jews," by Graetz, Vol. III, p. 94-96.

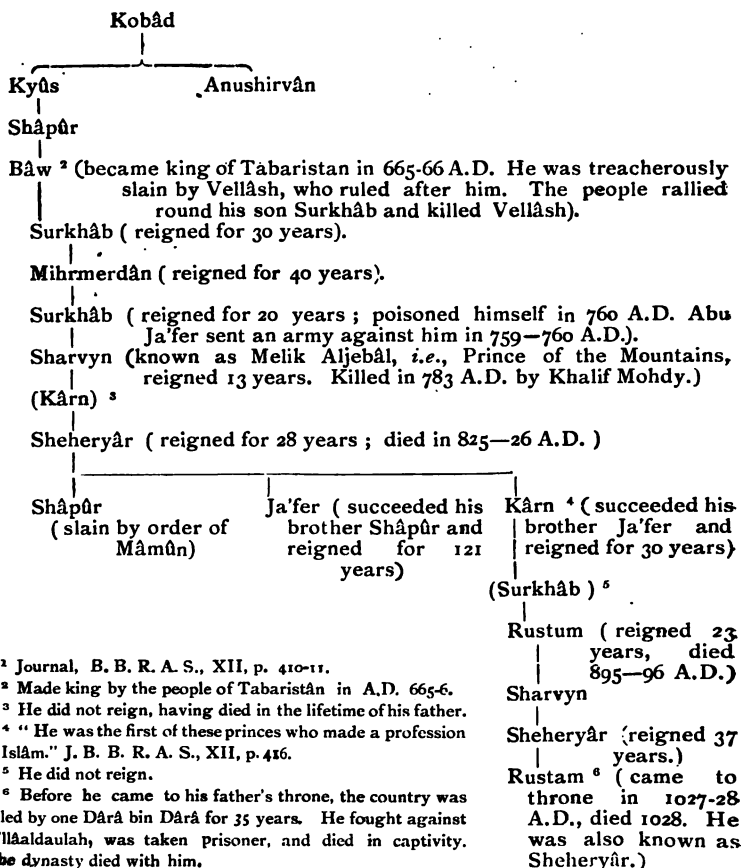
⁵ Dictionnaire Géographique &c. de la Perse par Barbier de Meynard, p. 45.

⁶ Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., XII, Abstract of the Proceedings, p. XXII.

Kôhestân or 'mountain region,' must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks, and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzanderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors."¹

Out of the different dynasties that ruled there, Rehatsek gives an account of the two principal ones, *viz.*, the Bâw and the Gâobârah, on the authority of (1) the Târikh of Tabaristân, Ruyân and Mazanderân of Sayyid Zahir-aldyn, (2) the Rozat-us-safâ of Mirkhond, and (3) the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badaoni.

The following table, prepared from Rehatsek's account, gives a list of the princes of Tabaristân, who ruled in Tabaristan long after the Arab conquest:—



¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 410-11.

² Made king by the people of Tabaristân in A.D. 665-6.

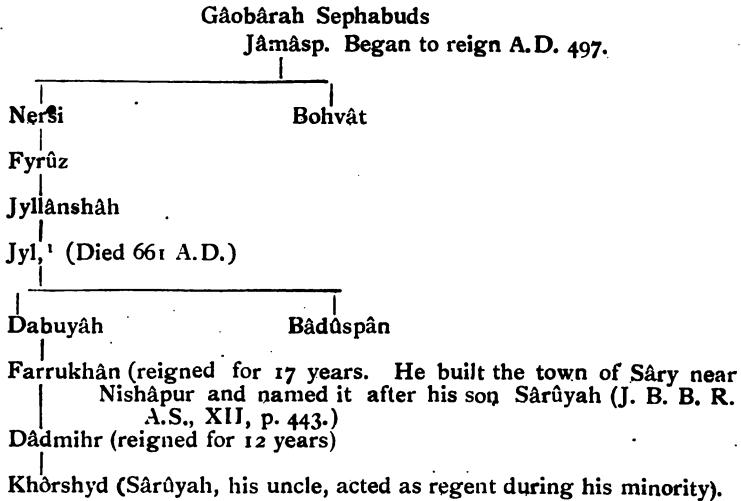
³ He did not reign, having died in the lifetime of his father.

⁴ "He was the first of these princes who made a profession of Islâm." J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 416.

⁵ He did not reign.

⁶ Before he came to his father's throne, the country was ruled by one Dârâ bin Dârâ for 35 years. He fought against A'llâldaulah, was taken prisoner, and died in captivity. The dynasty died with him.

The following table gives a genealogical table of the Gāobārah Sefhabuds, who first ruled in Gelān and then in Tabaristān :—



Speaking of the Sefhabud Farrukhān, the 7th in the descending list in the above table, Rehatsek says² as follows :—"The Sefhabud Farrukhān was succeeded by his son Dādmīhr, who enjoyed a reign of twelve years, during which, and down to the end of the Omīade dynasty (A.D. 749, A.H. 132), no Arabs invaded Tabaristān, on account of the great strife and troubles it underwent."

We learn from this, that the real Arab invasion of Tabaristān, which, with Gelān, Māzanderān and the adjoining country, forms the country known as Kohistān, or the mountainous district, began in about 749 A.D. and continued in the reign of Khalif Maṇṣūr, who ruled from A.D. 754 to 775. The last of the Sefhabuds in this Khalif's reign was Khōrshyd. "He caused every town and the whole country to flourish, but became, after he had reigned for a long time, so proud and overbearing towards his high officers, and tyrannical towards his subjects, that they felt aggrieved, and would have been glad of an opportunity to revolt from him, which . . . actually presented itself . . . O'mar B. Ala'llā, who had on a former occasion killed somebody in Gorgān, and having taken refuge with the Sefhabud lived for some time under his protection, was well acquainted with all the roads and mountain tracks, now joined the

¹ He was surnamed Gāobārah, because from his country of Gilān, he went to Tabaristān to conquer it "in the guise of a poor traveller with a load of cow (gāō) hides or heads" (J., B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 438.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 442.

army of the Khalif, and became the guide of Ab-Alkhacyb's troops, from which he took 1,000 men and hastened to Amul, where he slew in battle the Marzbân who governed that town on behalf of the Sephabud, took possession of it, and appointed a herald to invite the people to embrace Islâm, whereupon crowd after crowd and tribe after tribe arrived, accepted Islâm, became Musalmâns, and renounced ignolatry, because the people had met only with scorn and disregard from their own Sephabud."¹

Now, the first band of the Parsi fugitives from Kohistân are reported, on the authority of the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, to have left their district and come to Ormuz in A.D. 751. Thus, it appears, that they must have left their mountainous district, shortly after the commencement of the Arab invasion of Tabaristan in 749 A.D., as described by Rehatsek, on the authority of Mahomedan authors. (*Vide* above, p. 234.)

*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, pp. 18-108. 17th February 1877.*²

It is a very exhaustive paper on the spread of Christianity in Persia, based on materials collected from European and Oriental authors. It shows "the state of Christianity under various sovereigns of Persia, beginning with its propagation at Edessa where it first reached from Palestine."³

"Christianity in the Persian Dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sassanian dynasty." By Prof. E. Rehatsek.

It was from Edessa, that it gradually spread into Persia. Voltaire places the scenes of his well-known play, "Les Guebres ou La Tolerance" in Syria, where the Christian rulers of Rome came in contact with the Zoroastrians of Persia.

The order of the successive kings of Persia, as given by Rehatsek, and their dates, vary a little, here and there, from those given by other authors.

Professor Rehatsek begins his survey with the state of the Chaldæan diocese in Seleucia, "the capital of which was the first episcopal seat occupied by Maris, whom Thaddæus or Addæus, one of the seventy-two disciples, had sent there."⁴ At first it was dependent upon the patriarch of Antioch, but afterwards became independent and embraced "all the countries, formerly under the sway of Persia, from Mesopotamia to the extreme boundaries of Turkestân, also China and India."⁵

Christianity was founded in Edessa by Abgar, the ruler of the place, who, it is said, receiving favorable reports of the miraculous powers of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 443-444.
² *Ibid.*, v. II.

³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII. Abstract of Proceedings, p. I.*

⁴ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 18.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Jesus Christ, wrote to him to visit his Court to cure him of his disease. Christ wrote in reply, that he would send somebody else in his stead. Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, sent Thaddæus, one of the seventy or seventy-two disciples, to Abgar, after the ascension of Christ. Thaddæus cured him, and baptized him and his whole city. The letter of Christ, which Rehatsek gives in this paper¹, is now believed to be apocryphal.

The spread of Christianity at Edessa was stopped in the reign of Abgar's immediate successors. In the meantime, Thaddæus preached Christianity at Arbela, Nisibis, Beth-Garma and Mosul, " whilst his chief co-adjutor Maris did so in Babylon, in the adjoining provinces of Persia beyond the Tigris, dwelling, however, chiefly in Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capital of Persia, where he converted many to the faith, and built several churches, in one of which he was buried." ² Achis, the other assistant of Thaddæus, preached Christianity in the province of Ahvâz. " Afterwards the number of Christians was considerably increased by the prisoners whom the Persians captured in their wars with the Romans, and who, being dispersed in various districts of Persia, propagated their religion in them." ³ An edict of Trajan (A.D. 112) stopped the persecution of the Christians. " Christianity gradually radiated further from Edessa (which was under the suzerainty of the Romans), into Persia, but the whole of Armenia was Christianized only under Persian vassalage in the beginning of the fourth century." ⁴

The Parthian king of Persia during the later days of Trajan was Chosroes, who was dethroned by Trajan, but was re-instated by the people on the death of Trajan.

Rehatsek here describes as follows the method of electing the Catholicus (*i.e.*, the patriarch or the bishop) of Persia, in the early part of the second century after Christ :—

"The Bishop of Cascara proceeded to Seleucia, to take temporary charge of the widowed church, as soon as the Catholicus of Persia died, and invited by letter, six or eight metropolitans to proceed to a new election. These prepared themselves by fasting and prayer in the church Dir Elkam, with the other clergy and chief men of the laity. This assembly proposed certain candidates, whose number being finally reduced to three, their names were written on three papers, a fourth being inserted with the name of Christ as the chief pastor. These four slips of paper being folded into balls were placed under the altar, on which the sacred liturgy was celebrated. Then a little boy was made to pull out one ball ; if it contained the name of a can-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

² *Ibid*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 26.

didate he was proclaimed Catholicus, but if the name of Christ appeared on the paper, none of the three were considered worthy, and the same process was gone over with three other candidates, and repeated until one was elected."¹

This process of divination, in the election of a bishop, reminds a Parsee of the election, in the later Sassanian times, of Ardâi Virâf, for the purpose of a divine mission to the other world. In that election also, we find a large assembly electing a smaller one, and this in its turn electing a still smaller one, until three were finally elected. These three drew lots among themselves, as to who should undertake the divine mission.²

In the beginning of the third century, the Sassanians came into power in Persia. They were in continuous hostility with Armenia. "Under the predecessors of Tiridates³ (the king of Armenia), the Armenians followed a religion which was no doubt the same as that of the Parthians, *i.e.*, probably a mixture of Zoroastrianism, of Greek mythology, and of some other doctrines brought by their ancestors from Scythia. In their temples numerous idols could be seen, to which animal sacrifices, never in vogue among Zoroastrians, were offered. The latter, it would appear, admitted during that period only the Zervana Akarana, or, 'time without bounds,' which the Greeks translated by Saturn, as their chief Deity."⁴

Here Rehatsek gives in the footnote the ordinance of Mihr-Nerseh, the Persian Governor of Armenia (published in 442 A.D.), on the belief of Zervana Akarana. We must note, that all this refers to a particular sect of Persia, known as the Zervanites, and not to all the Persians in general.

The Armenian king Tiridates latterly adopted Christianity, which spread on a large scale in Armenia. This was one of the causes of the religious wars between Persia and Armenia, which lasted for a long time.

Ardeshir Bâbegan died in 240 A.D. and during the short period of 69 years (240—309) that followed his death, seven kings ruled, one after another, for short periods. They were Shapur I., Hormuzd I, Behrâm I, II, and III, Nersi, Hormazd II. Then came the long reign of 70 years of Shapur II (309—379 A.D.), and it was a period of "a great persecution of the Christians."⁵ It was during his reign that Mâni, the founder of the Manichæan heresy, flourished. He "promulgated tenets professed partly by Christians, by Zoroastrians and by Bud-

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, pp. 27-28.

² Vide Dastur Hoshangji and Haug's Virâf nâme Ch. I.

³ This Tiridates is not the one, who was the brother of Vulkhas, and who lived in the time of Nero.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 29

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

dhists.”¹ Shapur II looked towards it as an offshoot of Christianity and tried to suppress it. Now, this persecution of the Christians under Shapur II was more on political grounds than on religious grounds. It was more of a political persecution than a religious persecution. Professor Rehatsek says on this point :

“It may be observed that the whole persecution just noticed was chiefly confined to the provinces of Persia for the possession of which Shâpûr contended during a portion of his long reign, namely, to the districts from Edessa down to Ctesiphon, embracing a part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia, so that the Christian martyrs were considered to favour the views of their Roman co-religionists, and to be disloyal to the Persian Government ; accordingly they were liable to be persecuted also on that score, which would considerably modify, if not altogether invalidate, the assumption that the persecution was exclusively of a religious character.”²

Then the short period of 20 years (379—399 A.D.) saw the rule of three kings over Persia, Ardeshir II, Shapur III, and Behram IV. Then we come to Yazdagird I (399—420). This monarch is said to have favoured the Christians a good deal. Several causes seem to have won his favour for the Christians. Rehatsek³ does not refer to all of them. He refers to the following :—

(1) Bishop Isaac “in connection with St. Acacius, the Bishop of Amida, ransomed Persian prisoners from the Romans, but the precise year in which this event happened cannot be made out satisfactorily. When the Romans had, in their devastation of Azanena, captured about seven thousand Persians, whom they were by no means inclined to release, and who were starving, Acacius convoked his priests and said to them,—‘Our God stands in need neither of platters nor bowls, as he neither eats nor drinks, and wants nothing. But as the Church possesses many gold and silver vessels, presented by the benevolence and liberality of those who have entered it, we must with their price ransom the captives and feed them.’ After having said more to the same purport, he had the sacred vessels melted, ransomed the captives gradually by paying their price to the Roman soldiers, fed them for some time, and, lastly, providing them with travelling expenses, sent them to the king of Persia, who was so much struck by this act of Acacius that he desired the Bishop to pay him a visit, which is said to have taken place by the permission of Theodosius, who allowed him to leave the synod which was at that time sitting in Constantinople.”⁴

¹ *Ibid*, p. 33.

² *Ibid*, p. 39.

³ We must note here, that by some mistake, Rehatsek calls this Yazdagird, Yazdagird II, but the historical reference shows that he was Yazdagird I.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, pp. 42-43.

(2) Maruthas, the bishop of Mesopotamia, is said to have won the esteem of the Persian king by his piety. He cured the king of "an apparently incurable headache Maruthas, in concert with Abdas, the Persian bishop, prepared by fastings and orisons, worked the miracle of exorcising a demon who had vexed the king's son."¹ They say that this miracle of the bishop's was on the point of converting Yazdagird to Christianity.

The following three causes, which are believed to have won for the Christians the favour of Yazdagird I, are not referred to by Rehatsek.

(1) According to Procopius, Agathias and Theophanus, Arcadius, the Roman Emperor, had, by his testament, appointed Yazdagird the "protector for his son, Theodosius, a boy of tender age, instead of committing him to the charge of his uncle Honorius, or selecting a guardian for him from among his own subjects."² According to Cedrenus, Yazdagird was given a legacy of "1,000 pounds weight of pure gold," in return of this duty entrusted to him, "which he (Arcadius) begged his Persian brother (Yazdagird) to accept as a token of his good-will."³ This circumstance, they say, made him inclined a little towards the Christians.

(2) "Again, Antiochus, his great favourite, whom he had sent to the court of Rome to help and advise young Theodosius, had, by his frequent letters in favour of Christianity, turned the mind of the Persian king to the religion of Christ, so much so, that according to some Roman writers he began persecuting the Zoroastrians of Persia for the sake of his Christian subjects. The influence of Antiochus had greatly led to the increase of Christian population in Persia. According to Theophanes, Yazdagird himself had shown a little inclination to turn a Christian. . . . Professor Darmesteter⁴. . . . says, on the authority of previous writers, that it was this monarch who had allowed the first Christian synod to be held in Persia in the town of Seleucia under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium. Again, he had permitted the erection of a church at Ctesiphon. He employed Christian bishops on diplomatic service."⁵

(3) The Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân⁶ supplies another reason, why Yazdagird I was favourably inclined, not only towards the Christians, but also towards the Jews. That was the influence of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. ² Rawlinson's *Seventh Oriental Monarchy* (1876), p. 272. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴ *Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, Revue des Études Juives X, Vol. XVIII, p. 44.

⁵ *Vide* My *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân, Shatrâihâ-i-Airân*, &c., p. 139. *Vide* my paper on "The Cities of Iran, as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Îrân in" *Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 166-167. *Vide* Rawlinson's *Seventh Oriental Monarchy* (1876), pp. 272-77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-142. *Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 168-169.

his Jewish queen Shishindôkht upon him. She was, as Prof. Darmesteter says, a second Queen Esther. We read in "The History of the Jews," by Graetz,¹ that "He (Yazdagird) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians." This was due to the influence of the abovementioned Jewish queen, who is mentioned in the said Pahlavi treatise to have founded several towns in Persia.

Thus, we see, that several reasons had led Yazdagird I to be favourably inclined towards the Christians. But, he was a queer man. He seems to have been wicked in disposition. If, at times, he persecuted his people for the Christians, at other times, he persecuted the latter as well. It is said, that Bishop Abdas "being carried away by too much zeal had imprudently burnt a fire temple."² This exasperated the king against the Christians. The above-mentioned Pahlavi treatise and several Persians books, all invariably call him *dafr*, *bazehgar*, *alathim*, *alkhashan*, &c. All these words mean, that he was harsh and cruel. The Pahlavi treatise calls him *dafr*. This word seems to be the same as Arabic *dafr* دفر, i.e., stinking. By the word 'stinking', the author perhaps means simply 'bad or wicked.' But, a passage in Rehatsek's paper leads us to suspect, that, perhaps, the writer uses the word in its original sense, and means to allude to some event that may have happened in the court of the king. The passage runs thus: "When Maruthas was for the second time sent as ambassador, the Magi again played a trick to prevent his being admitted into the presence of the king; they produced a horrible stench in a locality through which he was wont to pass, and said that the Christians had done it. When Yazdegird discovered that this odour was a stratagem of the Magi, he had many of them slain, and honoured Maruthas the more."³

Having described at some length Yazdagard's own conduct, Rehatsek describes the religious wars between Armenia and Persia. Armenia was well nigh completely conquered by Behrâmgour (Behram V 420—440 A.D.), the son of Yazdagard.

After Yazdagard, the new form of Christianity, known as Nestorianism, began to spread in Persia. Behrâmgour was succeeded by Yazdagard II (440—457 A.D.) who was a staunch Zoroastrian, and there was a good deal of fight between the Persians under him and the Christian people of Armenia.⁴

¹ Vol. II, p. 617.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 44.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, pp. 43-44.

⁴ In this account of Rehatsek, we find some events belonging to the reign of Yazdagird I mixed up with those in the reign of Yazdagird II. He calls the first Yazdegard, Yazdagird II. He speaks of Behram V as the son Yazdagird II.

Under Feroz (457-484 A.D.) and Kobād¹ (487-531 A.D.), Nestorianism spread to a great extent in Persia. There were about 40 bishops in Persia proper.² There were several sects of the Christians then in Persia, such as the Gnostics, Monophysites, Melchites, Nestorians, and the sect of Gabriel. All these fought among themselves for supremacy.

During the reigns of Kobād and Noshirwân, the favour or disfavour of Christianity on the part of the Persian monarchs, depended upon, whether they were in peace or hostility with the Roman Emperors. Christianity prospered in Persia, when peace ruled between the two countries. The influence of the Roman Emperors was always in favour of the Orthodox Church, and opposed to Nestorianism and other new sects that had sprung up.

In the reign of Noshirwân (531-579 A.D.), besides Christianity, the new faith of Mazdak shared the attention of the people and the king. Rehatsek's account of this Persian socialist is interesting.³

Noshirwân's peace with Justinian brought also peace and prosperity to the Christians in Persia. A treaty was made between these two kings. "Clauses were inserted in this treaty by which Christians were allowed to build churches, to perform their sacred ceremonies without any fear, to celebrate thanksgivings, and to chant hymns to God, as is customary among ourselves, and not to be forced to be present at Magian ceremonies, or unwillingly to worship the gods considered by the Medes to be gods. On that account, however, Christians were not to make any attempts to draw the followers of Magism to their own opinion."⁴

Noshirwân had married a Christian Princess, and their offspring, Nôushzâd, having followed the faith of his mother, rebelled against his father. Hormuzd IV, (579-590 A.D.), the son and successor of Noshirwân was dethroned by Behrâm Choubin. Noshirwân's grandson, Khosru Parviz (590-628), also married a Christian lady, Sira by name (Shirin according to Oriental authors). According to some, she was the daughter of Maurice, the Emperor of Rome, who helped Khosru in gaining the throne of Persia from Behrâm Choubin. Khosru's marriage with a Christian wife did not prove as unhappy for him, as that of Noshirwân with his Christian wife. Shirin showed "her conciliatory disposition and good sense"⁵ at times, when a difference of opinion in religious matters was likely to bring about a breach between her royal husband and the Christian noblemen who attended Khosru's court. On one occasion, at a banquet given by the Persian King, Nyâtus, a Christian grandee who represent-

¹ The reign of Palas between these two kings lasted for three years (484-487).

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 52.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, pp. 72-73 note.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 82.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 87n.

ed the Roman Emperor, was present. The King had put on rich garments, which were presented to him by Maurice, and which bore Christian crosses over them. At first Khosru was doubtful, whether he should put on these garments with Christian crosses presented by his royal father-in-law. He thought, that if he put them on, he would offend his Zoroastrian subjects. If he did not, he would offend his Christian father-in-law. "But the Dastur, who was his spiritual adviser, set all doubts at rest by assuring his sovereign that religion does not consist in dress, that he was a Zoroastrian, but also a relative of the Kayçar."¹

Now, at this banquet, which the king attended with the garments bearing Christian crosses, "Bandvy, one of his favourite magnates, with the Barsan (or little twig held by Mobeds when praying) in his hand, arrived and stood near his sovereign, who muttered the Baj."² . . . When Nyâtus beheld the scene, he laid aside his bread, and was so amazed that he left the table, saying that the Baj and the cross together was an insult to the Messiah; being after this still more enraged by receiving a slap on the face from Bandvy, he immediately departed to his camp, got his troops ready to assault the royal banquet unless the person of Bandvy were delivered to him, and despatched a message to this effect to Khosru."³ At this critical moment, Shirin used her conciliatory powers, and brought about a settlement between Nyâtus and Bandvy.

After Khosru Parviz, we have a succession of weak Persian monarchs. In their reign, the Mahomedan power began to spread and "with the increase of the Muhammadan power the number of Christians diminished very rapidly everywhere in Persia and its dependencies."⁴

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIV, pp. 5—15. 9th March 1878.

The author presents in this paper "some points of contact between the two peoples (the Hindus and the Parsis), which have not yet been sufficiently investigated, and which may, perhaps, when duly inquired into, throw additional light on the common origin or identity of these two offshoots of the same Aryan stock."⁵

The author's first note is on the *barsam* (Av. *baresman*) of the Parsis, which, differing from Dr. Haug,⁶ he thinks "to be identical, both in origin and sacrificial import, with the *barhis* of the Hindus," which is "a bed or layer of *kusa* grass," spread on the ground "to serve as a sacred surface on which to present the oblations."⁷ The identity

¹ *Ibid.*

² The Zoroastrian prayer for saying grace at meals (Yaçna XXXVII, 1).

³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 88 note.*

⁴ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 100.*

⁵ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIV, p. 5.*

⁶ *Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Ed., p. 283.*

⁷ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, p. 7.*

seems to be doubtful, though there is no doubt, that the *barsam* like the *barhis* was, and is still used in sacrificial offerings.

Ezekiel, ¹ when he refers to the worshippers of the sun, and says of them, that "they put the branch to their nose," is believed to refer to these *barsam* twigs of the ancient Irānians. Strabo also refers to the *barsam* in the following sentence, when describing the customs of the Magi. "They then lay the flesh in order upon myrtle or laurel branches; the Magi touch it with slender twigs, and make incantations, pouring oil mixed with milk and honey, not into the fire, nor into the water, but upon the earth. They continue their incantations for a long time, holding in the hands a bundle of slender myrtle rods."² This passage of Strabo indirectly leads us to see, that the *barsam* of the Irānians does not correspond to the *barhis* of the Hindus. As the *barhis* was spread on the ground among the Hindus, so were "the myrtle or laurel branches" spread upon the ground; but *barsam* was something that was generally held in the hands.

The *barsam* played a prominent part in the recital of grace before meals. This appears both from Firdousi and from other writers. Yazdagard, the last Sassanian king, when he fled from the Arabs and concealed himself in the house of a miller, asked for the *barsam*, from his host, when he offered him his humble meals, so that he may say his grace. This, according to Firdousi, led to his disclosure and subsequent death.

We learn from other writers, that this custom of having the *barsam* in the recital of grace at meals, was, on the point of leading to a breach of peace between Khosro Parviz (Chosroe II) and his Christian brother-in-law, Nyātus. Rehatsek, in his paper on "Christianity in the Persian dominions," thus refers to the event.³

"On another occasion the Persian monarch gave a banquet, and had tables arranged for that purpose, in a rose garden. He had put on the royal diadem, and Nyātus with the philosophers sat around the table, when Khosru dressed in the jewelled Grecian robes, came down from the throne, and walking with a smile to the table took his seat. Also Bandvy, one of his favourite magnates, with the Barsan (or little twig held by Mobeds when praying) in his hand, arrived and stood near his sovereign, who muttered the Bāj. When Nyātus beheld this scene, he laid aside his bread, and was so amazed that he left the table, saying that the Bāj and the Cross together was an insult to the Messiah."⁴

¹ Ezekiel VIII, 16—17.

² Strabo, Bk. XV, chap. III, 14. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1857) III, pp.136-137.

³ *Ibid* above, p. 251.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIII, p. 88 note.

Passing on to another point of similarity, Dr. Da Cunha compares the Parsee *mâhrûi* (*mohrûn*) to the "three sacrificial posts or three-footed post of the Veda,"¹ and to "the tripod of the Greeks, seated on which the priestess of Apollo used to deliver oracles."²

Dr. Da Cunha then refers to two other customs of the Parsees, *viz.*, the disposal of the dead and the *Sagdid*. These have no parallels among the Hindus, but he compares these customs with those of the Tibetans and of other people of Central Asia.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XV., pp. 37-64. 24th January 1881.

This paper gives an outline of the career of Alexander, as described by Firdousi, Mirkhond, Nizâmi and other

"The Alexander Myth of the Persians." By Prof. E. Rehatsek.

Persian writers, who wrote "more than a thousand years after the Greek and Roman classics had produced their accounts of the

Macedonian hero."³ "Some Persian authors state that this celebrated sovereign was no other than the same two-horned Alexander, Sekander Dhulqarnyn, some of whose exploits are described in the Qorân (XVIII.), whilst others assert that the latter has been one of the prophets, and not the same with the Greek Alexander, Sekander Rûmy. The epithet "two-horned" is nevertheless applied unanimously to both."⁴

The descent of Alexander is differently traced. It is said, that he himself liked to trace it from the ancient gods of Greece. Some authors said, that he was the son of an Egyptian Magi. Firdousi says, that he was the son of the daughter of Philip and of Dârâ the King of Persia. Dârâ had married the daughter of Philip, but after some time, finding that she had a fetid breath, sent her away to her father, where she gave birth to Alexander. Parsee books do not speak of his Persian descent.

Rehatsek gives a long quotation from Nizâmi, whose life of Alexander in Persian verse is well-known.

We learn from this quotation of Nizâmi, the following facts, which are supported by Parsee books:—

1. Alexander burnt Zoroastrian books.

2. The ancient Fire-temples of Persia had treasuries attached to them. We learn from Firdousi and from other sources, that, to a certain extent, these treasuries attached to the Fire-temples served as Public Banks. People deposited their money there for safe custody and also borrowed money from there.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIV, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XV., p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*

3. They were seats of learning. Public libraries were attached to them, where scholars went for study.

4. Jamshedi Naôroz Jashan and the Jashan-i-Sadeh were the principal festivals that were observed in the Fire-temples with great eclat.

5. Zoroastrian women freely attended the Jashans and other public ceremonies performed in the Fire-temples.

The following lines of Nizâmi, as translated by Rehatsek,¹ describe these facts :—

The chronicler of ancient lore
Speaks thus of former times :—
When Zoroaster's Faith decayed
The fire went out, the ignicolist was burnt.
Alexander ordered the Eranians
To abandon ignolatriy,
To leave their ancient Faith
To embrace that of their new king,
The Magi the fire to leave,
The fire-temples to destroy.
It was the custom of those times,
In fire-temples scholars to maintain,
The treasures there to guard,

It was the usage of ignicolists
To sit throughout the year with brides ;
On Jamshyd-new-year's day, and Joshan Sedeh
To renovate the temple's festivals ;
From all directions maidens young
To the temples quickly sped.
Bedecked, with ornaments, adorned,
They arrived in crowds with eagerness.
The book Barzyn,² the magic words of Zend
Were chanted loud, to reach the sky.

The well-meaning monarch now ordained :—
Rites of the Magi no one should observe,
Noble brides should show their face
To mothers and to husbands alone.
He broke the incantations, pictures all
Dispersed the Magi from the Butkhaneh,
He cleansed the world from all polluted Faiths
And kept the people orthodox.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

² Pazend.

This power in the country of Erân
Allowed no Zartosht fires to remain.

The fire of Mobeds he ordered
To be put out with gentleness ;
To purge the Zend-books from fatuity,
Or else to place them into libraries.¹

Thence he, high minded sovereign,
Sped towards Adharabâdagân.
Wherever he the fire perceived
He quenched it and the Zend-books washed².
That region had a fire, rock-enshrined
Called " incomprehensible " by ignicolists
Attended by hundred gold-collared Hyrbads
Placed side by side to worship it.
That ancient flame to quench,
He ordered, and was obeyed.
Having extinguished the said fire
He marched his troops to Espahân ;
That beauteous and adorned town,
So pleasant and so rich,
Rejoiced the heart exceedingly ;
Here many fires were quenched
And their Hyrbads were abased.
There was a temple more adorned
Than pleasure gardens in the spring.
For Zartosht's Faith, and Magûs rites
Fine brides attended service there,
All captivating eyes and hearts.

Alexander is very often referred to in the Pahlavi books of the Parsees. All these books support Nizâmi, and say, that he destroyed Zoroastrian religion and literature. He is not referred to in the Avesta. The late Professor Darmesteter has, in his article " Alexandre le Grand dans le Zend-Avesta,"³ tried to show that he is once alluded to in the Avesta. But I have shown in my paper before our Society, entitled " The Antiquity of the Avesta," that he is mistaken in taking that view (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 275-77).

¹ This is an allusion to the fact of the Persian books being translated into Greek.

² This is an allusion to the fact, referred to by the Shatrôihâ-i-Airân that Alexander got the Zoroastrian books thrown into water. " And at last the accursed Alexander burnt and threw into the sea the Dinkard (or the collection of religious books) of seven kings " (*vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, &c., p. 55).

³ Revue des Études Grecques, 1892.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVI, pp. 74-87. 16th January 1883.

"Neryôsangh's Sanskrit
Translation of the Khordah-
Avesta." By Rev. A. Führer,
Ph. D.

The following is an abstract of the paper.¹

"It is just a century ago that Anquetil du Perron published his French translation of the Zend-Avestâ, or the theological, physical and moral ideas of the law-giver Zarathustra, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians. This translation, however, had the only merit of introducing the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zarathustrians, and furnishing Europe with all the materials necessary for eager researches in this important field. His work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless became thus a powerful stimulus to future studies of the Zend-Avestâ in a critical and philological way. Burnouf, Westergaard, Haug, Spiegel and Kossowicz, who investigated, in a scientific way, into the right understanding of the Zend-Avestâ, would never have succeeded in laying down a foundation of Zend philology without Anquetil's labours. Under the manuscripts brought by him from India to Paris, there were three copies of Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or the prayer-book of the Parsee priesthood, which translation has been published by Spiegel in 1861 at Leipzig. Of a Sanskrit translation of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the Yashts, by the same author nothing was known. Dr. Führer was fortunate to find in the libraries of Jamaspjee Dustur Minocherjee and Peshotun Dustur Behramjee three manuscripts containing the Zend and Pazend text, the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the prayer-book for the daily use of the Zarathustrian laity.

Speaking extensively about the scientific value of this translation, Dr. Führer pointed out that, though Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation is not founded upon the original Zend text, but upon the Pahlavi version, and though he committed many mistakes against the spirit of the Sanskrit language, yet his translation is an admirable memorial of mental training of the Parsee of former times, and of great value for Sanskrit as well as for Zend scholars. Finally, Dr. Führer gave some notes on the three manuscripts upon which his essay relies. The oldest and best manuscript belongs to Dustur Jamaspjee, the date is given in the Nikah or marriage-prayer, Samvat 1400=1342 A.D. In order to show the old age of the book, and the peculiarity of the Pazend characters, which are not to be found elsewhere, Dr. Führer presented a photograph of the last part of the Patet Aderbât, or a formulary of confession, which answers exactly to the Buddhist Pâtimokkha, or the

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVI, Proceedings at the end, p. i-ii.

- words of disburdenment. Of the other two manuscripts, one belongs again to Dustur Jamaspjee ; it is dated Yezdezerd 1152=1783 A.D., and the other belonging to Dustur Peshotun is, according to the Persian colophon on the end, a copy of Dustur Jamaspjee's second manuscript. All three manuscripts contain essentially the same text ; more important modifications are seldom to be met with, but striking similarities of special mistakes. As regards the time of Neryôsangh, little is known. According to the generally accepted traditions, Neryôsangh was the leader of the Parsees emigrating from Persia to India, and the learned Dustur who explained to king Jâderânâ (Jayadeva of Anhillavada Pattan, 745=806 A.D.), the Mazdayasnian belief in 16 *slohas*, and who consecrated the first fire-temple at Sanjâna in Samvat 777=719 A.D., and 87 Yezdezerd. But historical records for the exactness of this date are still wanting. The old age of the manuscript and the form of the Sanskrit which Neryôsangh writes, prove as distinctly as possible that he lived before the twelfth century of our era."

At the end of the paper, Dr. Führer expressed a "hope to publish very soon Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the whole Khordah Avestâ." That hope has not been fulfilled as yet. But, I am glad to say, that the attention of the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet having been drawn to this desideratum, they have resolved to publish a collated edition, not only of the Sanskrit translation of the Khordah Avestâ, but of all the Sanskrit translations of Parsee books. The work has been entrusted to Mr. Sheriârji Dâdâbhoy Broacha, who, owing to his profound study of the ancient languages of the Parsees and his knowledge of the Sanskrit, is able to do full justice to the subject. The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet have collected and placed at his disposal, as many old manuscripts as they could.

As to the subject of the date of Neryôsangh, as pointed out by Dr. Führer,¹ Dr. Haug² places Neryôsangh in the fifteenth century. Dr. West³ also, at one time, placed him in the fifteenth century. But he seems to have now modified his opinion. I had the pleasure of studying this question at Dr. West's suggestion, in 1891. I have embodied the results of my studies in a paper, read before the Jarthoshti Din-ni khol karnâri Mandli on 25th April 1896.⁴ I have since, published that paper, in my Iranian Essays,⁵ Part III. Therein, I have placed

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVI, p. 85. ² *Ibid*, p. 85 note.

³ Haug's pamphlet "Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend philologie," i.e., "The Present State of Zend Philology," p. 6.

⁴ West's edition of the Mainyo-i-Khard (1871), p. x, and his second edition of Haug's Essays (1878), p. 55. His Pahlavi Texts, Part I. S. B. E. (Vol. V.), 1880, p. 196.

⁵ *Vide* the Report of the Society, published in 1902, pp. 196-200.

⁶ pp. 197-203. *ઇશ્વરી વિષય, ભાગ ત્રીજો, પાના ૧૯૭-૨૦૩.*

Neryôsang in about the twelfth century. It appears from the correspondence I had on the subject, that Dr. West also comes to the same conclusion. Dr. West says: "After considering it carefully, I have come to much the same conclusion as yourself, as to the time of Neryôsang, but by a somewhat different method. . . . So we may conclude from these data, that Neryôsang flourished in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, as you have also concluded from other data."¹

Now, as to "the accepted tradition of the Parsis,"² as referred to by Dr. Führer, that Neryôsangh explained the Mazdayaçnan religion in fifteen or sixteen *slokas* to king Jâdê Rânâ of Sanjân, who, as Dr. Führer says, and as said by Dr. Wilson before him, may have been Jayadeva or Vanarâja, of Anhilwâd Pâtan, who ruled in Gujarât 745-804 A.D., and that he "consecrated the first Âtish Bahrâm (fire-temple) at Sanjân in Samvat 777=A.D. 720 and 87 Yazdezerd,"³ we find, that there are no facts to support that oral tradition.

Firstly, if the King Jâdê Rânâ, was Jayadeva of Anhilwâd Pâtan, the date (720 A.D.) of the consecration of the fire-temple as given by the above tradition and that of the reign of that Râjâ do not correspond. The Raja (A.D. 745-804 or 806) had not come to his throne, at the time, when the fire-temple is said to have been consecrated in 720 A.D., and at the time when the Parsees are said to have landed at Sanjân five years before this event.

The dates, as given by the tradition, are not correct. The date for the consecration of the fire-temple (790 A.D.), arrived at by me⁴ on the authority of the historical poem, the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, and on that of other historical works of Mahomedan authors, such as the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, *Mirât-i-Sekandari*, and *Târikh-i-Ferishta*, falls within the period of Jayadeva's reign.

Again, if Neryôsangh had been the person who consecrated the fire-temple, and if he was the celebrated author of the Sanskrit version of the Avesta, his name would have been mentioned by the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, who speaks at some length about the landing at Sanjân and about the consecration of the fire-temple. Anyhow, if we admit, that there was a Neryôsangh, who consecrated the first fire-temple at Sanjân, then, it appears, that this Neryôsangh must be quite a different person from the well-known Neryôsangh who gave us the Sanskrit versions.

¹ Dr. West's letter, dated 8th July 1891, published in my *Iranian Essays*, Part III, p. 149 note. ² *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., XVI, p. 84. ³ *Ibid*, pp. 84-85.

⁴ *Vide* my article entitled "A Few Events and their Dates in the Early History of the Parsees" in the *East and West* of July 1903, pp. 789-800.

Vide in the "Zartôshiti," Vol. I, Nos. III, IV, Vol. II, Nos. I and II, my article on this subject, entitled "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates."

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., Abstract of Proceedings, pp. ii—iv, 28th January 1887.

This paper is not printed in the *Journal* of our Society, but a brief outline of the paper, as given in the proceedings of our *Journal*, runs as follows:—

"The striking similarity between the episode in the Mahabharata, known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi, and the renunciation of Kaikhosroo in the Shah-namah." By Professor James Darmesteter.

"Mr. Darmesteter said, that he wanted to propose a problem to the Meeting, the solution of which might interest the historian as to the literary relation between India and Persia. He drew attention to what he

termed the striking similarity between the episode in the Mahābhārata, known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi, and the renunciation of Kaikhosroo in the Shāh-nāmāh. Yudhisthira, after having re-conquered his kingdom, which had been usurped by his cousins, the Kurus, became disgusted with the world, and sought to leave it and go to heaven. He set out to heaven with his four brothers and their common wife Draupadi. They crossed the Himalayas and then saw Mount Meru, which was believed to be the seat of heaven beyond a sea of sand. In crossing this desert, Yudhisthira's brothers and wife fell one by one exhausted and died, and he entered heaven alone. In the Shāh-nāmāh, Kaikhosroo, king of Persia, after avenging the murder of his parents on his grandfather, Afrāsyāb; king of Turān, left the earth disgusted, and also set out for heaven. His noblemen and several faithful followers accompanied him on his journey against his warnings. They crossed a mountain, and arrived at a desert of sand, but in passing through it they were killed, also buried, during the night in a snow storm. After the storm was over, the king was seen no more. He was supposed to have been translated to heaven during the storm. Mr. Darmesteter thought, that the similarity between the two legends was too particular to be accounted for, except by assuming, that they were borrowed from one another, or from some common source. As there was evidence that the legend of Kaikhosroo was as old as Alexander's time, and on the other side, as the style and the treatment of the Hindoo episode seemed to show it to have been a modern addition to the Mahābhārata, the lecturer was inclined to think, that it was borrowed from Persian, either through literary connection or from old tradition. The Professor attempted to show that the Persian legend was borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writers of the *Sepher Hayashar*, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch."¹

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., Part I., No. XLVI, Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, pp. ii—iv.* In this abstract, Prof. Darmesteter is reported to have stated, that in the Persian episode, Kaikhosroo avenged the death of his parents, but the fact is, that it was the death of his father alone that he had to avenge.

In the interesting discussion that followed, the late Hon'ble Mr. Telang entered a mild caveat against "the drawing of historical conclusions from resemblances, such as these pointed out by Mr. Darmesteter."¹ He said that "the resemblances, of course, were striking; but the differences were, to his mind, even more striking, and he had long been of opinion, that it was highly unsafe to allow arguments founded upon them to come in conflict with conclusions arrived at in other ways."²

Professor Darmesteter has treated the subject at greater length in a paper which he subsequently read before "La Société Asiatique" of Paris on 24th June 1887 under the title of "Points de Contact entre le Mahâbhârata et le Shâh-nâmah."³ This paper in French was, as it were, a reply of the learned Professor to the mild caveat of the late Hon'ble Mr. Telang. Therein, he has supported his theory of the Persian origin of the episode.

I think, that the story of Kaikhosroo in the Shâh-nâmeh, has, in its commencement, a parallel in the story of Hamlet, as described in the early chronicles, from which Shakespeare has taken the plot of his play. I have referred to it in my Gujarâti Dâstân of the story of Kaikhosroo.

Now, this is not the only episode wherein we find striking resemblances between its Persian and Indian forms. The Persian episode of Homâe, Behe-âfrid and Arjâsp has been shown to have its parallel in the Indian episode of Sitâ and Râvan in the Râmâyan.⁴

Dr. H. G. Bhandarkar's paper⁵ on the "Consideration of the date of the Mahâbhârata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis" may be read with advantage in connection with the question of the date of the Mahâbhârata raised in this paper.

There was a time, when it was said, that the Mahâbhârata was written as late as the 16th Century A.D. In the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches,⁶ a copper-plate grant is described by Colebrooke as being given by a celebrated monarch Janamêjaya, son of Parîcshit, "at the time of a partial eclipse of the sun, which fell on a Sunday in the month of the Chaitra, when the sun was entering the northern hemisphere; the moon being in the *Nacshatra* Âswini."⁷ Now "from calculations made by the Rev. G. B. Gibbons and Professor Airy," it

¹ *Ibid*, p. iv.

² *Ibid*.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, Huitième Série, Tome X, pp. 38-75. It is also published in a separate form as an Extract (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, 1887).

⁴ Mr. Pallonji Burjorji Desai's lecture before the Gujarâti Dnyân Prasârak Mandli. Report of the Society's Lectures for the season of 1888-1889. Sixth Lecture. *Vide* my paper, "The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrâb," *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 317-329.

⁵ *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., pp. 81-92.

⁶ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., pp. 438-441. ⁷ *Ibid*, p. 439.

was ascertained, that the eclipse referred to above "took place at about 11 a.m. on Sunday, the 7th of April 1521."¹ This, then, shows that the date of the grant is 1521 A.D.

Now, the monarch, referred to in the copper-plate, is also referred to in the Mahābhārata. So, if the copper-plate is genuine, it evidently follows, that the Mahābhārata was written after 1521 A.D. But the copper-plate grant was supposed to be spurious and not genuine by Colebrooke,² on the ground of its modern characters and incorrect language. Professor Bhandarkar also considers it spurious on the ground, that there are evidences which show that the Mahābhārata is very old.³ Dr. Bhandarkar's paper on the subject is very interesting. The late Dr. Bhau Daji, while making remarks on the subject, said that "he believed it could be shown that the Mahābhārata existed as long ago as Alexander the Great, and that he believed this could be proved."⁴

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., Abstract of Proceedings, pp. V.—XI., 25th February 1887.

The late Dr. Leitner was held to be an authority on the language, manners, customs, religion, &c., of the people of Kāfiristān and Dārdistān. He has written a good deal on these people in his periodical, "The Asiatic Quarterly."

His paper on the Hunza language draws the attention of a Parsee, because it treats of the Huns, a people, who with the Dānus, were held, in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, to be very hostile to the Ancient Irānians. As the Dānu people, referred to in the Avesta,⁵ seem to have given their names to countries and rivers like Denmark, Danube, Don, Dneiper and Dneister, so the Hunus (Huns) have given their names to distant countries like Hungary in the West and Hunza (*i.e.*, the place *jā* جا of the Huns) in the East. According to Dr. Haug,⁶ these Hunus (𑂦𑂩𑂰) (Yasht [Farvardin] XIII., 100; XIX. [Jamād], 86) were the Hunas of the Vishnu Purāṇa.⁷ Dowson⁸ says, on the authority of Wilson, that these Hunus were the White Hunas or Indo-Scythians, who in the first century of the Christian era occupied the Indian frontiers. They are referred to by Arrian, Strabo

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 81. Professor Bhandarkar's article on the date of the Mahābhārata.

² Asiatic Researches. Vol. IX., p. 440.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X. pp. 81—92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Abstract of Proceedings, p. xxv.

⁵ Yasht V. (Abān), 73; Yt. XIII Farvardin, 37, 38.

⁶ Essays, 2nd Edition, p. 213.

⁷ Wilson's Translation, pp. 177, 194.

⁸ Classical Dictionary of Hindoo Mythology (1879), pp. 122.

and Ptolemy. It is against these Huns, that the Chinese had built their great wall, and it is against them, that King (Kishtësb) Vishtësp is supposed to have built a great wall about 720 miles in length from Beidah in Persia to Samarcand.¹ The Hunus referred to in the Avesta, seem to be the ancestors of the later Huns.

The countries of Shignan and Wakhan, referred to in this paper² by Dr. Leitner, were, according to Col. Gordon,³ Zoroastrian countries up to about 500 or 700 years ago. The ruins of three old Zoroastrian fortresses are still seen at Wakhan. Lieut. Wood⁴ also refers to the Zoroastrian rule over this country. The very name Wakhan is derived by some from the Avesta word Veh, which is the name of a river (Veh-rud)⁵. For a further description of this country from a Zoroastrian point of view, I would refer my readers to my lecture on the Pamirs.⁶

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., pp. 97—136, 15th and 22nd April 1887.

This paper was read in two parts. It is the first paper by a Parsee gentleman that has appeared in the Journal of the Society since its foundation in 1804. The late respected Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byramjee Sanjânâ, the father of the learned author of this paper, and the late lamented Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel had submitted before the Society, in 1853, their papers on the reading of the Pahlavi Inscriptions⁷ at Hâjîâbâd. Though resolved at one of the meetings of the Society,⁸ that both the papers may be published, we do not find them published in the Journal, probably on account of the difficulty of getting the proper set of Pahlavi types.⁹

The subject of the paper of Dastur Darab is one, which is, at times, pointed out as a weak point in the religion of the Ancient Irânians. It is referred to, not only by the Greek, Roman and other Western

¹ Richardson's Persian Dictionary. Vide the word ایران "Irân." Vide my lecture on "The Pamirs" before the Gujarâti Dnyân Prasârak Mandli. Dnyân Prasârak Essays (1898), p. 162.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, Abstract of Proceedings, p. VI.

³ "The Roof of the World," p. 14.

⁴ Wood's Journey to the Source of the River Oxus," p. 333.

⁵ Encyclopædia Britannica. Vide the word Oxus.

⁶ પામીરના પ્રદેશ:—એ એક વખતના જરથોશ્તી પ્રદેશની ભૂગોળ તથા તવારિખ અને હાલમાં રશિયા સાથે ઉદ્દેશ વાણી, i.e., The Country of the Pamirs. The History and Geography of this, at one time, a Zoroastrian country. (સાન પ્રસારક (વિષયો) Dnyân Prasârak Essays, pp. 150—168.

⁷ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 380 and 382, pp. 393 and 396.

⁸ Ibid., p. 396.

⁹ Vide Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel's "The Origin and Authenticity of the Arian Family of Languages" (1861), Preface, p. viii.

writers, but also by some of the Eastern writers, and among them by the copyists of the Rājatarangini,¹ the ancient History of Cashmere.²

Dastur Darab has tried very successfully to demonstrate the following four propositions in this paper :—

I. "That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irānians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms.

II. "That no trace, hint or suggestion of such a custom can be pointed out in the Avesta or in its Pahlavi Version.

III. "That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi *savant*,³ and supposed to have references to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view, that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the Pahlavi passages, which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities, but to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. "That the words of the Prophet Zarathushtra himself, which are preserved in one of the strophes of the Gāthā, Chap. LIII., express a highly moral ideal of the marriage relation."

I. As regards the first proposition, *viz.*, the classical testimony on the subject, the author has very clearly shown, not only on the authority of later European writers, but upon that of the Greek writers themselves, that much reliance cannot be placed upon them all, that their information was, to a great extent, second-hand, and that the conclusions, that they have come to on the few facts that have come to their notice, are not sound. As shown by Rawlinson,⁴ in the very classical times, some looked with suspicion to the truthfulness of their predecessors. For example, Ctesias and Plutarch have doubted the veracity of Herodotus.⁵

¹ Bk. I., Slokas 308-309; *vide* Troyer's Rājatarangini; Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, Tome I, Texte Sanskrit p. 34, Tome II Traduction, p. 34. That these odious charges have latterly begun to be laid by the later copyists of the Rājatarangini, is shown by the fact, that the slokas given and translated by Troyer are not given by the Cashmere manuscripts. Dr. Stein does not give them in his text (Kalhana's Rājatarangini or Chronicle of the kings of Kashmir (1892) Vol. I, p. 14). In his translation (1900, Vol. I, p. 46) he says on this point: "After this verse (sl. 307), the Calcutta and Paris editions insert two slokas, which are not found in A. L. or any Kashmirian Manuscript . . . I have not been able to trace the original of this interpolation . . ."

² *Vide* my paper on "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians." Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 243.

³ Dr. E. W. West. S. B. E., Vol. XVIII, pp. 389-430.

⁴ *Vide* Rawlinson's Herodotus, I, p. 77.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, p. 106.

We have seen above¹, that Col. Vans Kennedy, has, in his paper, entitled "Remarks on the Chronology of Persian History previous to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great,"² tried to show, that the statements of Greek writers must not be taken as gospel truth. Looking to the statements of some classical writers, towards whom we can look with respect as some kind of authority, the only conclusion, that we can come to, is this, that, as "one swallow does not make summer," so, the cases—even if they be facts—of particular kings like Cambyses, indulging in such next-of-kin marriages, do not show at all, that the improper practice was common among the whole Persian nation. The words of Herodotus are quite clear, when he says, that the Judges, on being consulted by Cambyses for such a marriage, told him, that "they did not find any law allowing"³ such marriages. We find Plutarch saying a similar thing about the consanguineous marriage of Artaxerxes II. He says, that he was persuaded to enter into such a marriage "without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks."⁴ The very fact, that, as said by Plutarch, "he endeavoured to conceal it (*i.e.*, his illicit love for his daughter) on his mother's account and restrained it in public," shows, that such marriages were held improper by the Persians as a nation.

Coming to the Sassanian times, Agathias refers to the marriage of Kobâd I with his daughter Sambyke. Firdousi does not refer to such a marriage by Kobâd, but, even taking it to be a fact as stated by Agathias, we know, that Kobâd was under the influence of Mazdak, the Irânian socialist,⁵ who preached, that both wealth and women must indiscriminately be the common property of all men. According to Firdousi, he preached as follows :—

"Five things turn us away from righteousness. The wise do not add any other thing to these. They are jealousy, anger, revenge and want; and the fifth is ambition. If you conquer these five *g divs*, (*i.e.*, evil passions), the path of God will be clear before you. Women and wealth are (the cause of) these five for us. They destroy good religion in the world. If you wish, that no harm should come to good religion, the woman and wealth should not come in our way. It is these two, (*i.e.*, woman and wealth) that produce, jealousy, ambition, want, anger and revenge in secret. It is for these, that the Devil turns the heads of the wise. So, it is necessary that these two, (*i.e.*, woman and wealth) may be placed in the midst of all, (*i.e.*, for common participation)."⁷

¹ *Vide Supra* 171-76. ² Transactions, L. S. B., II, pp. 115-162.

³ Rawlinson's Herodotus Bk. III. 31.

⁴ Plutarch's Lives, Life of Artaxerxes II. John and William Langhorne's Translation (1813), Vol. III, p. 468. ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Vide* Rawlinson's Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy, p. 342.

⁷ I have followed the Calcutta edition of the Shâhnâmeh (Vol. III. p. 1614, ll. 7-13) for my translation. *Vide* Mohl's small edition, Vol. VI, p. 144.

II. Coming to his second proposition, with respect to the meaning of the Avesta word Khetvadatha, Dastur Darab has shown, that the word does not admit of that interpretation as the one sought to be placed upon it. He is supported on this point by Dr. E. W. West.¹ Sir Raymond West, the then learned President of our Society, in his very learned and lucid observations on the paper, suggested, that the word meant something like *svayamdatha*² (i.e., giving up one's self in devotion to God) in Sanskrit.

III. Coming to his third proposition, the author refers to the several passages in Pahlavi relating to Khetvadatha collected by Dr. West.³ I may here point out two more books in the Pahlavi literature, that refer to this subject, which have escaped the attention of Dr. West. One is the Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân,⁴ wherein king Vishtâsp speaks of Hutôsh as being his wife and "like a sister" to him. The passage in this book is similar to that of the Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh, and can be similarly explained. Again, we know that the Hutôsh, who is spoken of in the Pahlavi text as the wife of Vishtâsp, is the Kaitâyun of the Shâh-nâmeh, wherein we are told, that she was the daughter of the *Kaisar* of Rôum. So evidently, she cannot be the real sister of Vishtâsp.

The second book I refer to, is the unpublished Vajirihâ-i-Din in the library of the late Mr. Tehmuraz Dinshaw Anklesaria. This manuscript is otherwise known as the "Rivâyat of Hêmêt-i-Ashavahishtân." (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II, Band I, Lieferung III. Pahlavi Literature by E. W. West, p. 105). The exact title of the work as given in the manuscript is "Pûrsishnihâ aêchand min huparvart Aêmit-i-Ashavahishtân pursit li Âtrô-goshâsp-i Mitrô-Atâsh-i-Âtrô-goshâsp," i.e., "Some questions asked by me, Âtrô-gôshasp of Mitrô-Atâsh of Âtrô-gôshâsp, to the saint Aêmit-i-Ashavahishtân." The passages occur on folio 148a ll. 1—14 and folio 149b, l. 12 to folio 150b, l. 2.

IV. In the fourth and the last proposition, the author tries to show the high moral ideal of the marriage relation, as depicted in the 53rd chapter of the Yaçna, known as the marriage hymn of the marriage of the daughter of the Prophet.

The observations made on the paper by the President, Sir Raymond West, form in themselves, as it were, a short, learned, and interesting paper, worth reading for the light it throws upon the question from what we may call a non-Zoroastrian point of view.

The interesting paper of Dastur Darab is, as Dr. Casartelli very justly says, "quite the best and fullest statement of the modern Parsi

¹ S. B. E., XVIII., p. 427.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVII., Abstract of Proceedings, p. xvii.

³ S. B. E., XVIII., pp. 389-430. ⁴ Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân, &c., p. 31.

Vide Dr. Geiger's "Das Yâtkâr-i-Zarîrân und sein Verhältnis zum Sâh-nâmeh, p. 59.

view that has yet appeared" ¹ on this much discussed question. It has received a reply from the pen of Dr. Casartelli. ² In his reply, Dr. Casartelli refers to the episode of Soudābeh and Siāvakhsh, as given by Firdousi, and as referred to by Professor Italo Pizzi in his "Epopèa Persiana e la Vita e i Costumi dei Tempi Eroici di Persia, Firenze 1888. (The Epic of Persia and the Manners and Customs of the Heroic Age of Persia.)." ³ The reply of Dr. Casartelli, as far as it refers to this episode, has received a rejoinder from Dastur Darab in a pamphlet entitled "Syāvakhsh and Sudābeh (1892)." ⁴

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., Part II, No. XLIII., Abstract of Proceedings, p. V., 16th January 1889.

This was the first paper that I had read before our Society. It was more of a lecture than a paper, and it was delivered as such. So it is not published in the Journal of the Society. It was afterwards published in a pamphlet form. In 1888, the Persian Government had opened the river Kârun to trade, and so the event had suggested the subject to me. I said in the beginning of the paper: "The opening of the river Kârun to trade by the Persian Government is a welcome news for England and India. Though the concessions originally granted at the instance of Sir H. D. Wolff, our present Plenipotentiary at Persia, are one by one being withdrawn, we must accept them as the thin end of the wedge, and wait for better results." We are sorry to note now, that even after waiting for a period of 17 years, the better results have not come in as yet.

The paper is divided into two parts. I. In the first part I trace the course of the river from its source downwards, on the authority of the works of travel of Sir Henry Layard, Lieutenant Selby, Commander Jones, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and other travellers, and describe the cities situated on the banks of the river, particularly dwelling on the town of Ahwâz and the ancient waterworks of the Sassanian times near it as described by Firdousi. II. In the second part I trace the name of the river Kârun to its ancient name in the Avesta and Pahlavi books.

In number 1902 (Vol. XXXVII, May 3, 1889, pp. 561-67) of the Journal of the Society of Arts, Major-Gen. Sir R. Murdoch Smith has written an interesting paper on the subject, and therein has referred to this paper and its quotations from the Shâh-nâmeh.

¹ The Babylonian and Oriental Record, Vol. III., No. 8 p. 169, July 1889.

² *Ibid.* This reply is published in a separate pamphlet form under the title of "What was Khvetuk-Das? and other papers." ³ *Vide* his pamphlet "Some Marriage and Funeral Customs of Ancient Persia (Re-printed from the Babylonian and Oriental Record, 1890.)"

⁴ For my remarks on the Next-of-kin Marriages, referred to by Herodotus, I would refer my readers to my "𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹" (The Ancient Persians according to Herodotus and Strabo), pp. 66-68.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 39—46, 26th September 1890.

In this paper, I have tried to show, that the game of cricket, which the modern Parsees of India have learnt from their rulers, is a game which was known to their ancestors, the Ancient Persians. International matches were, as now, played in Ancient Persia “under the captainship of the leading men of the rival races. They were played with an accompaniment of music, just as we see at the present day.”¹

In this paper, I have treated the subject of the play, as described by Firdousi only. But in one² of my lectures before the Gujarāti Dnyān Prasārak Society, I have treated the subject at greater length,³ and as referred to in the Pahlavi Kār-nāmeḥ of Ardeshir Bābegān and in other works.

Sir Raymond West, the then President of our Society, in his farewell address to the Society, delivered on 21st April 1892, said that the author “showed good reason for thinking that the game of polo, so much in vogue now among our young military officers at such a cost of life and limb, took its rise from the Persians in ancient days, whose chief accomplishments were ‘to draw the bow, ride and tell the truth.’” He added, “I trust their successors and descendants in this country will always continue to speak the truth, ride well, and when they draw the bow, not to let it be the long bow.”⁴

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 97—108, 13th April 1891.

The knowledge of the ancient history of Assyria is, to a certain extent, necessary for the purpose of the ancient history of Persia. Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria, is counted as a city of Irān, by the Pahlavi treatise of the Shatrōihā-i-Airān.

“Assyrian Relics from Nimroud in the Possession of the B. B. R. A. S.” By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

In this paper, which, as the then President, Sir Raymond West, said in his farewell address to the Society,⁵ was a valuable paper, as it traced the source of some of the Assyrian relics of our Society, Mr. Karkaria tries to identify 10 stone slabs in the possession of the Society. At first, he thought, that they belonged either to the Layard Collection that was sent to the British Museum from Basrah *via* Bombay, and was exhibited here for some time, or to what he called

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII., p. 39.

² અસરો ઉપરની વિગતોમાં તત્ત્વની કસરત. (Physical Exercise among the Ancient Irānians.) *Vide* my Irānian Essays, Part III. (1902), pp. 172—192.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 181—191.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., Abstract of Proceedings, p. xxxix.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII., Abstract of Proceedings, p. xxxix.

the Rawlinson-Clerk Collection, *i.e.*, the collection presented by Sir Henry Rawlinson to the then Governor, Mr. (later Sir) George Clerk. Subsequently, he reported to the Society, that further investigations led him to say with certainty, that they belonged to the Rawlinson-Clerk Collection. Mr. Karkaria referred to 12 pieces of the slabs, and of these 12, he tried to identify 10. Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik, the then Secretary, examined, with the author of the paper, the Rawlinson-Clerk Collection, and said, that he was satisfied that Mr. Karkaria had succeeded "in identifying 9 out of the 10 slabs in the possession of the Society with those forming part of the Rawlinson present."¹

I may here point out, that Sir Henry Rawlinson had, at a Special Meeting on 7th April 1855,² presided over by Lord Elphinstone, delivered a *vivâ voce* discourse on his "Researches and Discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia."³ During that discourse, "he exhibited on the table a collection of antiquities, which he had lately obtained in Chaldea, Assyria, and Babylonia, and which he was carrying to England for deposit in the British Museum."⁴ So, I think that the unidentified slabs are relics exhibited by himself before our Society, and either left inadvertently here by him when re-packing his exhibits, or probably presented to the Society.⁵

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 192—205, 26th February 1892.

This paper of mine gives "a few points of striking resemblance between Dante's account of his visit to the other world, as given in his Divine Comedy, and that of the visit of the Persian Dastur, Ardâi Virâf, as given in the Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh."⁶

"The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nâmeh of Ardâi Virâf." By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

The stories about the visits of pious-minded persons, in their dreams or moments of ecstasy, to the other world, are, to a certain extent, common in many countries and in many nations. M. Barthélemy has given a pretty full list of such visits in his French Virâf-nâmeh.⁷

"The visions of Virâf were made known to the European world of letters by the English translation⁸ of Mr. J. A. Pope in 1818. This was an imperfect translation, not of our Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh, but of a Persian version of it, which was, to a certain extent, mutilated by some foreign

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 108.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 686-687.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 478-491.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

⁵ *Vide* above, pp. 215-218, for an account of Rawlinson's paper before the Society.

⁶ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 192.

⁷ Livre d'Arda Virâf, Introduction, pp. xxv-xlv.

⁸ Mr. Geo. Maddox, of Madras, has published in 1904, a rendering in prose-verse of this translation under the title of "The Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh, or the Revelations of Ardâi Virâf."

elements. This imperfect translation of the Persian mutilated version¹ led some to believe that the views of Virāf were derived from the Christian source of Isaiah's Ascent. But the late Dr. Haug, who was the first to write upon this subject, and whose learned presence in our midst as the Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College had greatly helped and encouraged Irānian studies, has clearly shown that this was not the case. M. Barthélemy, in his excellent translation (*Livre d' Ardā Virāf*),² wherein he has dwelt upon some of these striking points of resemblance, agrees with Dr. Haug."³

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 206—212, 28th June 1892.

“Like the story of Kalila and Damna, known in Europe as ‘The Fables of Bidpāi,’ the story of the Sindibād-nāmeḥ, known in Europe as ‘The Story of the Seven Wise Masters,’” is said to have “come from the Pahlavi through an Arabic version now lost.”⁴ I have shown in this paper, that this story of the Sindibād-nāmeḥ, otherwise known as the story of the King, the Damsel and the Prince, “has its parallel and origin in the Persian story of Kāus, Soudābeh and Siāvakhsh,” as described by Firdousi. The two stories present eight points of striking resemblance.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., pp. 317—329, 18th November 1892.

“There are several episodes in Firdousi's great epic of the Persians, which present striking points of resemblance to similar episodes in the epics of other nations.”⁵ Three such episodes are referred to above (pp. 259, 260 and 269). In this paper, I have treated the subject of a fourth episode of this kind as given by Firdousi. M. Mohl⁶ was the first to point to the resemblance of this episode to that of Cucullin and Conloch in an Irish poem. I have pointed out fifteen points of striking resemblance between the Persian and the Irish episodes.⁷

¹ The oldest manuscript of this Persian Virāf-nāmeḥ, that has come to my notice, is dated roz Āsmān, māh Khordād 997 Yazdajardi (1628 A.D.). It was written by Burjo Kamdin (bin Kaikobād, bin Hormuzdyār, surnamed Sanjānā), the well-known compiler of the Revāyets. It belongs to Mr. Rustomjee Dosabhoj Sethna. It is a beautifully written manuscript, with some fine pictures of the scenes supposed to have been seen in Heaven and Hell.

² Introduction, p. xxvii. ³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., pp. 204-5.*

⁴ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 206.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁶ *Le Livre des Rois.* Small edition, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxi.

⁷ I would here draw the attention of my readers to the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VI., No. 7, pp. 387—402, wherein, Mr. Eruchshaw Ardeshir Parakh has referred to another such episode. He has presented a parallel between Firdousi's Story of Behrām Chobin and the Story of Macbeth as given by Hollinshed in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, which have given to Shakespeare the materials for the plot of his play of *Macbeth*.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 1—23, 24th November 1893.

This paper is somewhat connected with the auspicious event of Her late Majesty's Golden Jubilee. On 2nd February 1887, the late Professor James Darmesteter, who was then on a visit to India, delivered at a meeting, presided over by the late Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Third Baronet, a lecture on "Parseeism: its Place in History." In that lecture he recommended the publication of the Pahlavi literature of the Parsees. He said, "What we require is not a translation of the books I have mentioned, but the mere text of them" . . . In a few days you are going to celebrate the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, the golden marriage of India with England, the golden marriage of the East with Western civilization. You will join with your usual munificence in the public festivities; but if you want to impress particularly the Parsee mark upon your demonstration of loyalty, what better opportunity could be found at the same time to perform a duty to your race and to do honour to the Queen of the West than by showing how deeply you have imbibed the Western spirit of science and research? In your banquets it is usual to have three toasts—one to Ormazd and the Amashaspands, the second to the Ferouers of the ancestors, the third to the Queen-Empress. Let, therefore, the Ferouers of the ancestors have here also their part in the festival; let the revival of your literature, let the raising of the Jubilee Pahlavi Fund be the Parsee Memorial to the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress!"²

The words of the late Professor did not fall on deaf years. Dastur Darab, the author of the paper under review, the late lamented Dastur Pheroze Jamaspji Jamaspasana and myself formed ourselves, under the kind guidance of our guide, friend and philosopher, Mr. K. R. Cama, into a Committee to collect funds for the purpose. I remember having gone with the above two gentlemen to the houses of several rich Parsee gentlemen for the purpose. Our work, no sooner than commenced, was kindly undertaken by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, who started a fund for the purpose under the name of "The Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund," and nominated a Committee for the selection of books to be printed. The *Nirangistân* was the first book published under the auspices of the above Fund. It is printed by the photo-zinco process. Dastur Darab was the first Honorary Secretary of The Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund Committee, and, as such, has edited the book. The second book published from this Fund is the *Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dadistân*, and is edited by me. The third,

¹ *Vide* the Lecture printed at the *Bombay Gazette Press*, p. 14. *Vide* the *Bombay Gazette* of 5th February 1887.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

that is being published, is the Grand Bundehesh, belonging to the late Mr. Tehmurus Dinshaw Anklesaria, who was a great Pahlavi scholar, and whose death, last year, is a great loss to the cause of Pahlavi studies.

Now, the paper under review was written by Dastur Darab as an introduction to the above volume of the Nirangistân. As Dr. West¹ says, the "Pahlavi literature may be divided into three classes. I. First, Pahlavi translations of Avesta texts, intermingled with Pahlavi commentary. II. Second, purely Pahlavi texts on religious subjects, or connected with religion. III. Third, Pahlavi texts on miscellaneous subjects not intimately connected with religion."² The Nirangistân is a book which falls under the first head, and "is chiefly concerned with the ritual in Sassanian times, the *drons*, temperance, recital of the Gâthâs, effect of the sin of a priest on rites, the Gâhs and Gâhânbars, holy-water, the *kustî* and *sudra*, *barsom*, firewood and Hô-m-mortar."³

The manuscript of the Nirangistan, published as said above, belongs to Dastur Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. It is incomplete, and a part of the last portion is replaced from an old manuscript belonging to the late Mr. Tehmurus Dinshaw Anklesaria. As pointed out by Dastur Darab, the first part of the book, which generally goes under the name of the Nirangistan, forms a part of another book called Airpatastân.

Since the publication of the Nirangistân, the late Dr. Darmesteter has published the transliteration and translation of the Avesta portion of the book in his Zend Avesta.⁴ The publication of this text and translation is followed by that of "Index Verborum of the Fragments of the Avesta" by Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, as the fourth volume of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian series, edited by Prof. A. V. W. Jackson. The object of this publication is, as said by its author, "to render easily accessible a large body of lexicographical material hitherto almost neglected by scholars."⁵

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 58-75, 17th December 1894.

"The sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam, or on the rock of the mountain, otherwise known as the Mountain of Sepulchres, have long been 'the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist and the antiquary.'"⁶ In this paper, firstly, I have tried "to determine the event which is intended to be commemorated in the first of the lower bas-reliefs"⁷ of these sculptures; secondly, I have described the event so commemorated; and, thirdly, I have examined how far (a)

"The Bas-relief of Behram Gour (Behram V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam and his Marriage with an Indian Princess." By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

¹ Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II, Band 1 Lieferung III. Pahlavi Literature, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86. ³ Le Zend Avesta, Vol. III., pp. 78-148. *Vide* also pp. ciii-civ of his Preface.

⁴ Preface, p. ix.

⁵ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 58.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

Indian books, (b) Indian coins, and (c) Indian monuments support the description. I have given an interpretation of the bas-relief, that is quite different from that given by Kerr Porter, who thought, that the bas-relief illustrated, what he calls the "royal union," *i.e.*, the union of king Behrâm Gour with his queen after a short estrangement, as related by Malcolm, in a story, which, for the sake of convenience, we may call, the story of "Nekoo karden z pur kurden est," *i.e.*, "Practice makes perfect."¹ I have tried to show in this paper, that it illustrates Behrâm Gour's marriage with the Indian princess Sepihnud.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 215—223, 15th October 1875.

In this paper, the author tries to show, that the argument used in the "refutation of Atheism contained in the fifth and sixth chapters" of the Parsee book Shikand Gumânik Vijâr, "presents a very close resemblance to the argument of M. Lucilius Balbus, the spokesman of the Stoics in the famous dialogue of Cicero, called the *De Natura Deorum*."² Mr. Karkaria says, "I do not say anything about the later writer (Mardân-farukh, the author of the Shikand Gumânik Vijâr) borrowing from the earlier (Cicero). . . . Mardân says explicitly that he got these arguments from the Dinkard of Adirfrobâg. . . . Probably, the editors of the Dinkard might have seen Greek philosophical works."³

I think, that "The Argument from Design", used in the Shikand Gumânik Vijâr, was suggested to the author, in a natural way, as it is the most common argument used in the question of "The Existence of the Deity." It is used in an indirect way, in the form of questions in the older writings of the Avesta, the Gâthâs (Yaçna, ch. 44).

The subject proper of the paper has a very long introduction, and in it, the author quotes at some length the views of Dr. West on the subject of the final loss of the Irânian literature. Dr. West⁴ is of opinion, that the conquered Parsees of Irân were equally responsible with the conquering Arabs for the loss of their literature. I differ from Dr. West, and repeat here what I said about 13 years ago in my review in the "*Times of India*"⁵ of his translation of the Dinkard. "It is very true that the first inroad of the Arabs did not do all the mischief at once. It was a slow and gradual work, and by the end of the second century after the conquest, the work of destruction was com-

¹ In the *Conversazione*, held in connection with the Centenary of our Society, on 18th January 1905, Mr. Kaikhusru Ardesbir Chinoy exhibited some very excellent old Persian pictures, illustrating several scenes from the Shâh-nâmeh. Among these, there was one, which beautifully illustrated this story.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX., p. 220.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵ *S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., Introduction.*

⁶ 3rd November 1892.

plete. Hence the necessity for Dastur Âdar Farobag and other writers to collect in the Dinkard, at least the details of the contents of the lost books . . . fresh in the memory of many persons at the time. If the twenty-one *Nusks* were all extant at the time when Âdar Farobag wrote, whence the necessity for writing the contents? If the zeal for preserving this literature prompted them to do the work, why did they do it half-heartedly by merely preserving the contents and not by making copies and distributing them?"

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 224—236, 21st November 1895.

"India is the original home of the game of chess. From India, it was introduced into Persia in the time of the Great Noushirwân or Chosroes I. The Arabs, who subsequently conquered Persia, introduced it into Spain on their conquest of the country. Spain spread it into other parts of Europe. Though some seem to be of opinion, that it was the Crusaders who brought it from the East, many are of opinion, that it was known in Europe long before the Crusades, and that it was known in England before the Norman Conquest. As to its Indian origin, Sir William Jones in his paper¹ on 'The Indian Game of Chess' says: 'If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians.'"²

In this paper, I have adduced the testimony of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Persian writers, *viz.*, Firdousi.

I. At first, I describe the story of Firdousi which led to the discovery of the game. The story says, that in a war between two brother princes, one died of sheer exhaustion and fatigue. Their royal mother suspected the surviving brother of killing his brother in the battle, and did not believe, that, he, being shut up on all sides by the enemy, was killed by exhaustion and fatigue. The surviving brother, in order to convince his mother, that, in a battle, a king can be so shut up on all sides and die of sheer exhaustion and fatigue, got this game invented.

II. Secondly, I give Firdousi's description of the game.

III. Thirdly, I describe the circumstances, under which the game was introduced into Persia from India in the time of the Great Noushirwân, who, in his turn, gave to India the game of "Nard," a kind of backgammon.

IV. Fourthly, I give "two other versions about the origin and discovery of the game of chess" as "given by Caxton, the first English printer, in his book 'The Game of Chess.'"³

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 159.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 224.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

REVIEW OF PAPERS AND NOTES ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 237—248, 9th December 1895.

The subject of the paper was suggested to me by a visit in May 1895 to Cashmere, where I had heard many of the stories of the Ancient Persians as described by Firdousi. Cashmere was once a Zoroastrian country. In this paper, I have written at some length on the following subjects :—

1. References to the country of Cashmere in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts.¹

2. References to the country in the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi.²

3. The relation of the Ancient Persians to Cashmere, referred to by Wilson³ in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir."⁴

4. The Shâh-nâmeh stories heard in Cashmere.⁵

5. The Cypress of Kashmar.⁶

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 263—287, 26th June 1896.

This paper⁷ is a reply to the late lamented Dr. Darmesteter, who, in his *Zend Avesta*,⁸ has tried to bring down the antiquity of the Avesta to as late as the third century after Christ. His assertions had, as the late Professor Max Müller said, thrown a bomb-shell "into the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars."⁹

I have not treated "the great question of the antiquity of the Avesta from all standpoints," but have aimed to examine it from a few standpoints suggested by Darmesteter as facts of historical and external evidence.

I have alluded to this subject at some length, in my remarks on Mr. Erskine's paper on "The Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsees."¹⁰

Professor Darmesteter "dwells upon what he calls two kinds of evidence. Firstly, the historical evidence as collected from the Dinkard and the letter of Tansar, the Dastur of Ardeshir Babegân, to the king of Tabaristân. Secondly, the internal evidence as presented by the Avesta itself."¹¹ I examine these two kinds of evidence as produced by the Professor, and try to show, that they do not lead to the conclusion, arrived at by him, that the addition to the Avesta was continued to be made as late as the third century after Christ.

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 237—239.* ² *Ibid, pp. 239—241.* ³ *Ibid, pp. 241—245.*

⁴ *Ibid, p. 241. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV.* ⁵ *Ibid, pp. 245—247.* ⁶ *Ibid, pp. 247—248.*

⁷ This paper has been translated into French by Mademoiselle Menant and published in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions." (1897) Tome XXXV. pp. 1—29.

⁸ *Le Zend Avesta III, pp. VII. LXII. The Vendidad, S. B. E., Vol. IV, 2nd edition. Introduction, pp. xxxvii—li.* ⁹ *The Contemporary Review, Dec. 1893. Vol. XLIV., p. 860—Article entitled "The Date of the Zend Avesta."*

¹⁰ *Vide supra, pp. 177—182.*

¹¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 263.*

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 289—305, 8th August 1896.

This paper gives an account of "the earnest enquiry," which Akbar made "after the best religion for men" and of his attempt "to set up a new faith," as described by Badaoni in his *Muntakhab al Tawarikh* and by Abu Fazl in his *Akbar-nâmeh*. While referring to the influence of the religion of the Parsees on Akbar, Mr. Karkaria examines the tradition among the Parsees, that Dastur Meherji Rânâ of Naôrsari had explained to Akbar the religion of the Parsees, and not only decides against the tradition, but says, that the Dastur was an obscure priest and not able to explain the religion to Akbar. This paper has received a reply from me in two papers, entitled "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ" and "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755—61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ." As I have said, in the first of my above two papers, "this is not the first time, that doubts have been raised against Dastur Meherji Rânâ's mission to the Court of Akbar. Unfortunately, latterly there has been a division of parties among the priesthood of Naôrsari. Some are opposed to the family of Meherji Rânâ and its associates. Some of them have, ere this, raised such doubts, several times, in some of the Gujarâti papers. But it was for the first time, that the question was transferred by the above-mentioned paper to the platform of this Society."¹

A good deal of want of courtesy is shewn in this paper by its author to Dastur Meherji Rânâ. Not only that, but the same kind of discourtesy is extended to the living members of the Meherji Rânâ family, and gross injustice done to them. He has perverted the names of the books stated in the papers, that were passed into his hands by some members of the family. I repeat what I have said in one² of my above papers of reply.

"To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose Journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made 'a pretended claim' for their ancestor." No explanation has come yet, and it is a pity, that the pages of the Journal of the Society have been allowed to remain sullied in this way. The controversy raised by this paper was soon transferred again to the daily papers of Bombay, and party spirit ran high. The hospitality of their editorial columns, extended to their contributor by the two well-known Bombay English dailies, was equally abused, and the Dastur, who was termed "an obscure priest in a corner of Gujarat" in the above paper, was abused as a charlatan and an impostor.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, p. 289.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI., pp. 69-245.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 537-551.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI., p. 157.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, Abstract of Proceedings, p. XCV, 8th April 1897.

This paper is not printed in the *Journal of the Society*. It compared Comte's system of naming the celebrities in the different departments of human activity to a custom of the Ancient Persians, as illustrated in the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII). The custom is still prevalent. The formulæ, in which the departed worthies are commemorated, have been changed from time to time. I have described the custom and given the formulæ at some length in my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation." I am told, that the custom is somewhat similar to the one prevailing at the University of Oxford, where during the bidding prayer, they make "a long statement recalling the gifts of benefactors to the University in times past. It is really a thanksgiving to Almighty God for the gifts of the worthies of old, who gave land and money to endow the Colleges and the University. The list of benefactors is read out in full on the high festivals in the University Church only."²

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., pp. 365—374, 17th June 1897.

It was the recently published book, "Religion of the Ancient Egyptians," by Alfred Wiedemann, that had suggested to me the subject of my paper. I examine in this paper, the several points of similarity in the belief of the Ancient Egyptians and the Ancient Persians about the future of the soul. These two ancient nations agreed, to a certain extent in their belief about (I) the Immortality of the soul; (II) Judgment after Death; and (III) Resurrection.

I. As to the first—the Immortality of the Soul—"the Ancient Persians believed in the existence of five spiritual parts in a man."³ They were (1) Anghû, *i.e.*, life or vitality; (2) Daëna, *i.e.*, conscience or the inherent power which reminds him to do good and shun evil; (3) Baodhangh, *i.e.*, the intellectual faculty; (4) Urvâna, *i.e.*, the soul, which has the freedom to choose good or evil; and (5) Fravashi, *i.e.*, the guiding spirit. Of these five spiritual parts mentioned in the Avesta, the Anghû corresponded with the Sekhem; the Daëna, with the Âb; the Urvâna, with the Bâ; and the Fravashi, with the Ka of the Egyptians. As to the fifth spiritual part—the Baodhangh—there is such a slight

¹ Pp. 30-32. *Vide* *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 434-436.

² *Ibid*, p. 31, note 26. *Vide* the above *Journal*, p. 435, note 26.

³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 366.*

shade of difference between it and the Daëna, that it cannot clearly be identified with any spiritual element of the Egyptians.

II. Coming to the belief about the judgment after death, we find, that among the Egyptians, (a) "Osiris the many-eyed," (b) who is a Divinity of the Sun, (c) and who holds a sceptre in his hand as a symbol of authority, (d) weighs in a scale the actions of a soul, (e) that is led before it by Anubis. Among the Persians, it is (a) the thousand-eyed Mithra, (b) the angel of light and an associate of the sun, (c) who holds a *vasra*, i.e., a mace or club, in his hand, as a symbol of authority, who (d) weighs in a scale the actions of a soul (e) led before him by Sraôsha, Râm and Beharâm.

(f) As Osiris, among the Egyptians, is helped by some gods, so is Mithra, among the Persians, helped by some Yazatas, or angels. (g) As Anubis is in charge of the scales among the Egyptians, so Rashnê is in charge of it among the Persians. (h) Horus among the Egyptians and Âstâd among the Persians superintend the work of weighing the actions. (i) Among the Egyptians, Thoth acts as a scribe. Among the Persians, Mithra himself acts as an account-taker. (j) Among both these nations, the souls go to heaven, uttering some words of felicitation.

III. Coming to the third point of the similarity of ideas, *viz.*, Resurrection, we find that both these ancient nations thought it necessary to preserve some part of the body for the purpose of the resurrection. The Egyptians preserved the whole body—a fact, which led them to the custom of mummifying the bodies in various ways. The Ancient Persians preserved the bones—a fact, which led them to the custom of having Astodâns or ossuaries, as referred to above.¹

"Now arises the question, How shall we account for the above points of marked similarity between the beliefs of these two ancient nations, the Egyptians and the Persians? The answer is, that both these nations had their homes in Central Asia. The ancient Egyptians were Asiatics by origin and not Africans."²

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX., pp. 156—190. 26th January 1899.

"'Shatrôihâ-i-Iran,' or 'The Cities of Iran,' is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise, lately published for the first

"The Cities of Iran, as described in the Old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Iran." By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

time, with some other Pahlavi treatises, by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known

cities of Western and Central Asia, that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians."³ It has been for

¹ *Vide supra*, pp. 167-168.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 373.*

³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX., p. 156.*

the first time transliterated in Gujarâti characters, and translated with notes into Gujarâti and English by me.¹ In this paper, I identify some of the cities named in the treatise, and "give a few points of geographical and historical importance about them as presented"² by it.

The treatise seems to have been written in the eighth or ninth century after Christ.

Of the several new facts of historical and geographical importance presented by the Pahlavi treatise and pointed out in this paper, the following are very important :—

I.—The treatise leads us to determine, that the library of Shapigân, the second of the two State libraries of ancient Persia, was located in a Fire temple at Samarcand.

II.—Yazdagird I, the son of Shapur III, is called *dafr*, *basehgar*, *al-athim*, *al-khashan*, *faru-bandehgar*, &c., meaning, cruel or hard, by most of the Oriental writers, the reason being, that, being somewhat under the influence of Hebrew and Christian priests, he was not well disposed towards his own Persian subjects. This treatise presents an additional reason; and it is this, that he was under the influence of a Jewish wife named Shishin-dokht.

III.—There are several places connected with the name of Zoroaster, either as his native country, or as his country of adoption for the propagation of his religion. This treatise gives an additional name, *viz.*, that of Âmui. It is a town in the province of Raga, and Zoroaster is said to be of that place. (*Zarthusht min zak madinâ yekvunt.*)³

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX, pp. 217-233, 24th March 1899.

In this paper, I have given the etymology of the names of some of the cities, mentioned in the newly published Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, referred to in my previous paper. I have divided my subject into two parts. I.—I have taken up those cities, the etymology of whose names

"The Etymology of the names of a few towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern writers." By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

has not been given upto now. II.—I have taken up those cities, the etymology of whose names has been given by Oriental writers, and have examined, how far that etymology is correct.

Under the first head, I suggest the etymology of the names of the following towns :—Ctesiphon, Bâbylon, Bost, Zarenj, Kermân, Gour or Jour, Ahwâz, Simlan or Semirân, Askar, and Nineveh.

Under the second head, I describe and examine the etymology of the names of the following towns, as given by other writers:—Samarkand, Balkh, Herat, Pusheng, Tus, Nishâpur, Nehavend, Sham, Farika, Nahartirak and Âtaropâtakan.

¹ Vide my *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân*, Shatrôihâ-i-Airan, va Afâya va Sahigiya-i-Seistân.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 156.* ³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX, p. 189.*

*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, Abstract of Proceedings, p. lxxvi,
15th March 1900.*

This paper is not printed in the Journal of the Society, as, with the permission of the Secretary, it was published, as my contribution, in the Cama Memorial Volume.¹ The subject of this paper is a bronze medal belonging to Mr. J. H. Robinson of Bombay. The medal bears no inscription. I had shown it to the late lamented Dr. Gerson da Cunha, who was an authority here in Numismatics, and he was not sure, whether it was genuine. The late lamented M. Drouin of Paris latterly thought, that it was not genuine. The object of my paper was, to determine what the figures on the medal were, and to whom it belonged. I have shown, that the figures lead us to think, that the medal depicted one of the chase-scenes of King Behrām Gour. Most probably, it is the scene, wherein he goes to hunt a wild dragon and a wolf, at the desire of the Indian king (Shengel), whose daughter Sepihnoud, he latterly marries. For a fuller description of this scene I would refer my readers to my paper on "The Bas-relief of Behrām Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and his marriage with an Indian Princess."²

*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI, Abstract of Proceedings, p. III and
pp. 4-18, 23rd August 1900.*

I have tried to show in this paper, firstly, (i) that the Sindân of the Arab geographers and writers—Ibn Haukal, Edrisi, Maçoudi, Istakhri and Albiruni—is not the modern Sanjân of Konkan, but is the Sindân of Cutch; and secondly (ii) that the town of Hanjamana, referred to in some of the Silhâra grants; is the Parsee town of Sanjân, whose foundation by the Parsees is referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân. In connection with the first question, I have shown, that according to the Parsee tradition, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, it was the Parsees who named the town Sanjân.

¹ The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, in honour of Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, pp. 225-30.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX. pp. 58-75. *Vide supra*, pp. 271-272.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI., pp. 34-48, 12th March 1901.

This paper is a reply to Prof. Darmesteter's "theory, that the Gathas

"Time and place of the
Composition of the Gathas."
By Mr. P. A. Wadia, M.A.

were only a re-edition of ancient texts made during the early years of the Christian era."¹

The author mainly appeals to the following points in support of his conclusion, that the

Gathas were composed in or about the ninth century B. C., and that their birth place was Media :—

I.—The archaic form of the language. The Gathas "appeal to the people at large, and seem to have been sung before large assemblages, instead of being confined to a few savants."² So, if written in the first century after Christ, they were written in a language, dead at the time. If so, they cannot appeal to the people at large. This leads us to the conclusion, that they were written long before the first century after Christ,—written at a time, when the language was still living.

II.—"The historical allusions found in the songs seem to point likewise to an early date ; if they were composed so late as the time which Darmesteter suggests, we might have found in them at least some evidence of the history of later times ; but of this we have no trace."³

III.—"The organization of the people, such as it is found in the Gathas, points to a time when settled agricultural life was not yet the order of the day, when a regular political government had not yet been in existence, when tribe fought against tribe for years and years without any decisive result, when the followers of the religion of Mazda had often to endure the hardships of failure and defeat."⁴ All these point to a very early date.

IV.—"There is no trace here (in the Gathas) of the Acheamenide Empire."⁵ So, they must have been written long before the Achemenian times.

Darmesteter has laid great stress upon the supposed identification of the Vohu Mano of the Avesta with the Logos of the Neo-Platonic philosophy of Philo-Judæus, and has inferred from that supposed identification, that Ardeshir Bâbegân's chief minister and priest Tansar, who, according to Maçoudi, was a Platonist, and who had a hand in the collection of the Avesta at the direction of his royal master, must have put in, in the Avesta, a good deal of his own, as collected from Greek philosophy. Mr. Wadia opposes this inference by saying, that (a) "the conception of Vohu Mano is not so well developed in the Gathas as it is in the later Avestaic writings, that in the Gathas it is wavering between an abstract attribute of the Deity and a personified being (b) and that the theory of the Vohu Mano and the rest of the Amshaspands is mentioned in a passage of the ' Isis and Osiris ' " ⁶ of Plutarch.

¹ *Journal B. B. R. A. S., XXI., p. 35.* ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

For further elucidation of the subject of Vohu Mano and Logos, I would refer my readers to the studied writings of Rev. Dr. Mills in the several issues of the Asiatic Quarterly and of other periodicals during the last few years, and to his recent book, entitled, "Zarathushtra and the Greeks."

Mr. Wadia refers to the political condition of the country as described in the Gathas, and determines, that the people "were nomadic in their organization,"¹ that their "struggles were for the most part internecine,"² and that there is "no mention of a formidable authority external to the tribes."³ Such a condition evidently points to pre-Achemenian times for the composition of the Gathas.

We have the additional authority of the traditional Pahlavi writings to show, that the struggles of Zoroaster, referred to in the Gathas, were more tribal than external, that the worst enemies of Zoroaster and his religion were his own kith and kin, and that the Ushis, Kiks and Karaps, who most opposed him, formed the tribes or families nearly related to him.⁴

Thus determining the political condition of the people, Mr. Wadia takes advantage of the new theory of the original home of the Aryan race—a theory which originated by Latham and seconded by Penka, Taylor, and Rendall, and most ably supported by Schrader, places the home of the Aryans in Europe instead of in Asia,—and following the history of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians as given by Herodotus, places the age of the Gāthās at a time about or before the 7th century before Christ, and its place in Media. Well, we must note here, that the last word on the origin or the cradle of the Aryan race is not said yet. Even the theory of Europe being its home, shifts its ground hither and thither.

About the birthplace of Zoroastrianism, Mr. Wadia says, "it is not even true that tradition assigns Bactria as the birthplace of Zoroastrianism."⁵ I think, in the consideration of this matter, we must not mix up the question of the birthplace of Zoroaster with that of the birthplace of Zoroastrianism. "The consensus of opinion is," I think, "that Zoroaster belonged both to the East and to the West of Irān, to Bactria and to Media; that Bactria, where the then king of Irān, King Gushtāsp, ruled, was the place of his ministry, the place where he promulgated his religion under the protection and with the help of the ruler; and that Media was the place of his birth, his childhood, his inspiration."⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. my paper entitled "An Avesta Amulet" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Journal Vol. V, No. 7, pp. 418-425).

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., p. 41.

⁶ Vide my paper on "The Cities of Iran" (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX., p. 188).

I would here refer my readers to an excellent dissertation on the subject by Prof. Geiger, in his Essay on "The Home and Age of the Avesta."¹ It is a very able reply to Prof. Harlez and to Prof. Spiegel, who bring down the age of Zoroaster to later times, and who point to the West of Iran as the Home of the Avesta. Dr. Geiger places the age in pre-Achæmænian and pre-Median times and the home in the East of Irân. What Dr. Geiger says at the end of his essay is true, that "the question as regards the home and age of the Avesta is at present the standing difficulty of Irânian Philology, and will, I surmise, remain so for a long time."² Prof. Geldner³ supports Dr. Geiger in his view about the antiquity of the Gâthâs. Dr. Geiger's paper has received a reply from Prof. Dillon of the University of Charkow, who agrees with Harlez, Spiegel and Justi in placing the home of the Avesta in the West and the age of the Avesta in times later than those ascribed to it by Geiger.

Dr. Karl F. Geldner's learned paper⁵ on the Avesta Literature, which has lately been translated by Rev. Dr. Mackichan,⁶ treats, among many other questions, this question of the Home and Age of the Avesta. It presents a very interesting picture of all the points relating to the Avesta.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 49-65, 1st August 1901.

"With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889,⁷ 'a very noble allegory.'⁸" This noble allegory is rendered into verse by Rev. Dr. Casartelli under the title of "Outre-Tombe: a Zoroastrian Idyll."⁹ According to this allegory, "at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong

¹ Vide "The Age of the Avesta and Zoroaster from the German of Dr. Wilhelm Geiger and Dr. Fr. Von Spiegel." By Dastur Darab Peshotun Sanjana, 1886. ² *Ibid.* p. 71.

³ Vide Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. XVIII. His article on Persian (Iranian) languages.

⁴ Vide "The Home and Age of the Avesta," translated from the German of Dr. Emil J. Von Dillon (1887). *Bombay Samachar Press.*

⁵ Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II Band 1 Lieferung. I Avesta Litteratur.

⁶ Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D., pp. 1-82.

⁷ The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter (1891), pp. 398-399.

⁸ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., p. 49.

⁹ Cama Memorial Volume, pp. 74-78. I would here draw the attention of my readers to Dr. Casartelli's another attempt to verify some beautiful ideas of the Avesta. It is the versification of the first Gâthâ of the Avesta (*Dublin Review* of October 1903).

damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, *i.e.*, the handsome damsel, speaks words of praise and welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, *i.e.*, the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world."¹

In this paper, I present the transliteration and the translation of an hitherto unpublished chapter of the larger manuscript of the Bundelesh, wherein the allegory is described in a rather different and amplified manner. It says, that the deceased person's actions present themselves before his soul after death in the form of a wind and a cow.

This chapter seems to be a later addition. I show in this paper, that the additional chapters found in the larger manuscripts are all later additions. From several facts adduced in the paper, I come to the conclusion, that the latest additions to the Bundelesh were made about 786 A.D.²

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 67-245, 19th December 1901.

As said above,³ this paper of mine is a reply to Mr. R. P. Karkaria with reference to a part of his paper on "Akbar and the Parsees." The main questions were, (a) who were the Parsees, who influenced Akbar in the matter of his new religion, and (b) who was the leader of the Parsees? I have treated the whole subject under three heads.

I. Firstly, I have tried to prove, that it was the Naôsâri Parsees who influenced Akbar. II. Secondly, I have tried to prove that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, who influenced Akbar. III. Thirdly, I have examined the objections that have been raised to these facts. In the appendix, I have given the photo-litho facsimiles of some of the documents referred to in the body of the paper, with their texts and translations.

An outline of this paper and of a subsequent supplementary paper on the same subject, based on the Notes of Anquetil Du Perron, has been published in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions." The subject of the religion of Akbar has been recently treated in a paper, before the Congress of the History of Religion, held at Baal in August 1904, by Mon. G. B. Maury, whose translation of Comte de Noer's work (*L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte de Noer*) I have quoted in my paper.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI., p. 49.

² Vide also my Gujarâti Bundelesh, Introduction, pp. 16-23.

³ Vide above p. 275.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 525-536, 13th July 1903.

This paper was at first read before the International Congress of Oriental Scholars, held at Hanoi in December 1902.¹ In this paper, I have collected the references to China in the ancient books of the Parsees. I have divided my subject into seven parts.

I. I have described the reference to China in the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. XIII., 144) under the name of Sâini, and have examined three facts which lead us to identify Sâini with China.

II. In this connection, I have examined the statement of Prof. Douglas, as to what country constituted Sâini or China, in the ancient literature of different nations. It appears, that the whole country between the Pamirs and the confines of Bactria on the West and the great ocean on the East, was, at times, known by the name of China.

III. I have examined the question of the derivation of the name Sin, Sinæ, Chin or China. The question of the derivation is not settled as yet. On one hand, the settlement of that question is very important to Avesta scholars, as it will settle also the date when the Farvardin Yasht, which refers to China, was written. "On the other hand, a satisfactory settlement of the question of the date of the Farvardin Yasht may lead to a solution of the doubtful question of the derivation of the name of China."²

IV. I have examined the references to China in the Pahlavi Bundesh and the Shâyast lâ Shâyast. The latter book seems to refer to the religion of China as "a mixed religion, i.e., a religion containing Zoroastrian elements, as well as other foreign elements."³

V. "This brings us to the question of the influence of Zoroastrian religion upon China"⁴; and so, I examine in this part, the references to Zoroaster and to the religion of Persia in the Chinese books.

VI. I examine the references to China, in the Pahlavi Epistles of Mânoshcheher, in the Bahman Yasht and in the Jâmâspi. These references tend to show, that the Persians of the times, when these books were written, were in lesser contact with the people of China than before. So, they looked towards that country with an idea of strangeness and isolation.

VII. Lastly, I examine some of the references to China in the Shâh-nâmeh.

¹ Vide "Compte Rendue Analytique des séances, Premier Congrès International des Études Extrême Orient. Hanoi (1902)" published in 1903, pp. 76-77.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., p. 530.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 537-548, 13th July 1903.

This paper is a supplement to my abovementioned paper,¹ "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." Miss D. Menant of Paris, who takes a great interest in the History of the Parsees, and whose book "Les Parsis" is well known, while looking into the Manuscript Notes of Anquetil Du Perron, who had visited India from 1755 to 1761 A.D., came across some notes by that traveller and scholar, on the subject of Akbar and Meherji Rânâ. She drew my attention to them, and at my request, kindly sent me a photograph of these Notes, which I have reproduced as an appendix to this paper. These Notes were an important find, bearing out the following six points, that I had tried to prove in my previous paper :—

"1. That Ardeshir, who is spoken of by the Dabistân, written long after Akbar's time, as having come to Akbar's Court, had come to India, long after the religious discussions were closed, and long after Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship and Zoroastrian calendar and festivals, and so, he had no hand in influencing Akbar towards these things.

"2. That Ardeshir had specially come for the purpose of the dictionary, known as the Farhang-i-Jehāngiri, and not for the purpose of taking part in the religious discussions at the Court, nor for the purpose of explaining to the king, the religion of Zoroaster.

"3. That it was the Naôsari Parsees, who had attended the Court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, which took place there in 1576—79.

"4. That Dastur Meherji Rânâ was a leading Parsee of Naôsari, and that, as such, he headed the party from Naôsari.

"5. That he explained the Zoroastrian religion to king Akbar.

"6. That if king Akbar put on *sudreh* and *kusti* (i.e., the sacred shirt and thread), as referred to in some of the songs, which spoke of Dastur Meherji Rânâ's visit to the Court of Akbar, there is nothing to be wondered at, especially as he had put on the sacred symbols of other religions, such as Hinduism and Christianity."²

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 552-611, 22nd September 1903.

From the time of Cicero, down to the time of the latest writers of the Encyclopædia, several authors have said that Xenophon had written his Cyropædia, "not in conformity with the truth of history, but to exhibit a representation of an excellent government," and so this

"On the Cyropædia." By Mr. R. K. Dadaoanjee.

Vide above, p. 283.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., p. 552.

work was "a political romance" written for a "distinct moral purpose to which literal truth is sacrificed."¹ "But it has been generally believed that there is an admixture² of historical truth and fiction in the *Cyropædia*." The author of the paper under review is of the former view, and thinks "that the *Cyropædia* has been cast in a mould similar to that of our modern romance."³

Our author has divided his subject into several parts.

I. The object of Xenophon in writing the *Cyropædia* was to accomplish two tasks—"the first, of completing the vindication of the teachings and character of his great teacher (Socrates); and the second, of applying the remedies prescribed by the great reformer for reforming the Athenians, and renewing their lost virtue and glory."⁴ To accomplish this task, he takes as the hero of his work, Cyrus, whose exploits as a great conqueror were known to the Greeks, through Herodotus, and through oral tradition, and tries to clothe him with the virtues and qualifications, which, as taught by Socrates, must be possessed by the Athenians, if they thought of rising from their degenerate condition. He tries to point out Cyrus to the Athenians, and to say, "Observe, how Cyrus and the Persians became so great, what qualities and institutions they possessed. Do you have the same qualities and institutions; and you will, also, be as great as the Persians under Cyrus."⁵

II. Our author then gives nine instances, wherein, he thinks, it is Socrates who thinks, and speaks and acts, through the supposed personality of Cyrus.

III. Our author then produces five instances as showing that the *Cyropædia* sought "to teach the Athenians how to cure their moral and military and educational defects by applying the remedies prescribed by Socrates,"⁶ though represented to have been prescribed by Cyrus.

IV. Lastly, our author presents four considerations to show "that the *Cyropædia* has been cast in a mould similar to that of our modern romance."⁷

However imaginary the work of Xenophon may be, it seems, that there was a substratum of truth under the picture, which presented the Iranian picture of what a good, virtuous and useful citizen must be. There is very little in Xenophon's picture of Cyrus, to show, that it was non-Iranian or against the teachings of the religion or of the moral code of the Iranians. It is true, that Cyrus is made to refer to Greek gods, but that must not lead one to think, that the picture had no Iranian ground whatever. Herodotus, whose account of the

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., p. 552.

² *Ibid.*, p. 553.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 553-554.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 560.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 560.

Persians is not thought to be imaginary, gives the names of Greek gods like Jupiter, but that is merely to make his Greek readers clearly understand his writings and views. I think, that the Cycropædia is not a fiction pure and simple, but a mixture of facts and fiction—facts, based on some points of Irânian social and moral life, and fiction, in the attempt to apply it to the exigencies of Greek life.

Xenophon's Cycropædia reminds me of a modern attempt of this kind, though not of the same type. It is the work of a German Professor entitled "So sprach Zarathushtra," which is translated into English under the name of "Thus spake Zarathushtra." Though one cannot point to chapter and verse in the writings of Zoroaster for every idea and word that the writer has put into the mouth of Zoroaster, and though some ideas and words may not look to be Zoroastrian pure and simple, still the substratum is, to a great extent, Zoroastrian.

II.

I will now speak of those papers in our Journal which are not strictly on Parsee subjects, but which indirectly refer to points interesting from a Parsee point of view, and which incidentally throw some light on Parsee subjects.

Transactions, L. S. B., I., pp. 281-312. 30th November 1813.

An account of Kathiâwâr, from an antiquarian point of view, may interest a Parsee, because this province seems to have come into some contact with the Ancient Persians, and because the Parsees, on their emigration from Persia, had landed, at first, on its shores before coming to Gujarât. This paper does not contain anything interesting from the latter point of view. But there is one statement which requires a little attention. The author says: "The Rajas of Noanuggur have the title of Jam, which they derive from their Sindian ancestors."¹ He then adds in a foot-note, that "there are several derivations of this title given by historians; Mahomedans who possess it, derive it from Jumshede, and Hindoos from the word *jum*, "fixed" or "firm."

Now, we learn from Ebn Haukal, who lived in the 10th century, that as late as his time, a part of Sind was owned by Parsees.² So, it is possible, that the Mahomedan rulers of this district, who may have descended from the rulers of Sind, may have received this title of Jam from there. One need not derive it, as the author says, from "Jumshede" or "Jamshed" because Jam itself is the original

¹ Transactions, L. S. B., I., p. 283.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (1800), p. 146. Vide my paper on "The Country of Mekran: Its past History" in the *East and West* of May 1894.

name, the latter part *shede* or *shed* being an honorific word added at the end, as in the case of Khur and Khurshid. The word originally is Yima in the Avesta, and is the same as Yama of the Vedas. Mahomedan rulers of India have often been taking pride in the name of Jamshed, and comparing their rule, pomp and dignity with those of this Pishdadian monarch of Persia. Last Christmas, I remember having read an inscription on a slab in the fortress of Golconda, near Hyderabad, wherein a potentate is compared with Jamshed.

Transactions, L. S. B., I., pp. 150-56. 30th March 1812.

There is one event in the history of the fort of Chapaneer which is interesting and important to a Parsee, because it is, as it were, a landmark in the history of the Parsees in India. This event is the conquest of Chapaneer by the Mahomedans for the first time. It is thus referred to by Capt. Miles in his paper.

"The history of Chapaneer before the introduction of the Mahomedan religion into Hindustan is, like almost all Hindu history and tradition, very fabulous, and, although curious and perhaps, entertaining, is not deserving serious mention. All that can be clearly ascertained is that it exceeded greatly its present size, and was the seat of a powerful Rajpootre tribe, the last raja of which was Putty Rawall. Some descendants from his family are said still to be in existence in Guzerat. This man, however extensive his possessions before might have been, was reduced to his capital by Mahmoud, the seventh king of Western Guzerat, who besieged him in it (say both Hindus and Moslems) twelve years; partially I judge The tradition is, that Mahmoud's armies took this and Joonaghudd, another hill-fort in Kattywar, on the same day; and that, therefore, he is called by the Guzerattees Mahmoud Be-Ghudde or Be-Ghurree, *i.e.*, of the two forts"

Now, this event of the conquest of Chapaneer by Sultan Mahmud and the introduction of Mahomedanism into it, is thus alluded to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, a Persian treatise in verse, giving a short history of the Parsees in India.

چو شد در هند پا نصد سال انجام وزان پس در چنپانیر آمد اسلام
همی شای پی دید آمد ابا بخت در آن شهر او نشست بر سر تخت
همش محمود سلطان خواند ندی رعایا ظلمه سبحان خواند ندی²

Translation—"Islam came to Chāmpānir at the end of 500 years (since its introduction) in India. Lo! A king with good fortune

¹ Transactions, L. S. B., I., pp. 152-53.

² Darab Hormuzdyār's Revayet, which is being lithographed by Mr. Manockjee Rustumjee Unwalla, Vol. II., p. 349.

appeared and he sat on the throne in that city (*i.e.* Châmpânir). They called him Mahmud Sultan. His subjects called him the Shadow of God."¹

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan speaks of the king simply as Sultan Mahmud. Now, who was this Sultan Mahmud? Dr. Wilson² says, it was Mahmud Bigarâ who reigned in Guzerat from 1459 to 1513. But the writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer* says, it was Mohammed Shah or Ala-ud-din Khilji, the King of Delhi, who reigned from 1295 to 1315. Now the reference to the conquest of Châmpânir by Sultan Mahmud and to the introduction of Mahomedanism into it, in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, and the fact stated in the history of Châmpânir, that it was Sultan Mahmud Begarâ who conquered it and introduced Mahomedanism into it, determine, that the Sultan Mahmud referred to in the Persian Kisseh-i-Sanjan is Sultan Mahmud Begarâ and not Mahmud Shah or Ala-ud-din Khilji.

Now this event, which is connected with a defeat of the Parsees at Sanjan, and its date are very important in the history of the Indian Parsees, as they determine the dates of many previous and subsequent events in their history.³

Transactions, L. S. B., II., pp. 256-286. 29th September 1818.

This paper is interesting, not only from a Parsee point of view, but from the point of view of every religion. The remarks of the author in the beginning, about the authorship of the Dabistân, which refers to the religion of Akbar, are important, as they show, that Sir William Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship to Mohsan Fâni. In his sixth anniversary discourse before the Bengal Asiatic Society, Sir W. Jones said: "The rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions, entitled the Dabistân, and composed by a Mohammedan traveller, a native of Cashmîr, named Mohsan, but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fâni or Perishable, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang."⁴

Capt. Kennedy was the first to show in his preliminary remarks, in this paper, that Sir W. Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship to Mohsan Fâni. He was followed by William Erskine who showed it on the authority of "the Gul-i-Rana or Charming Rose of Lachmi Narayan who

¹ *Vide* my article on "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates" in the *Zarhoshti*, Vol. I, No. 4. *Vide* Eastwick's Translation, *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 183.

² *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 182 note.

³ *Vide* my article entitled "A Few Events and their Dates in the Early History of the Parsees after their Emigration to India", in the *East and West*, Vol. II., No. 21, pp. 789-800.

⁴ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II., p. 48.

flourished in Hydrabad".¹ He says, that he saw Sir W. Jones' mistake independently, and before he "had an opportunity of seeing Capt. Vans Kennedy's learned and conclusive observations on the same subject."² The fact is, that, as Troyer³ says, the name Mohsan Fani is found in more than one copy of the Dabistan, after the usual address to God in the beginning, in a passage beginning with the words "Mohsan Fani says." Dastur Mulla Feroze thought, that, that is the name of a writer, with a quotation from whom the author began his work. So, this writer, quoted as an authority, by the author, has been mistaken for the author himself. Troyer,⁴ about 25 years after the discussion, thought, that the question was still undecided, but we think, that Mulla Feroze's explanation, approved of by Erskine, seems to be correct.

The second point in this paper, which would draw our attention from a Parsee point of view, is the Zoroastrian element in the new religion of Akbar. The question has been dealt with at some length by me before this Society in my paper,⁵ "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." The question of the Religion of Akbar has been treated by Blochmann, Comte de Noer, Wilson, Rehatsek, and Max Müller.

Transactions, L. S. B., II., pp. 297-311. 30th March 1819.

This paper like that of Captain Kennedy on "The Religion of Akbar" is interesting for all, from the point of view of all religions. The author says: "It is generally known that the Mussulmans expect the appearance of the Imam Mehdi on earth before the last judgment. The question whether he has or has not yet appeared, forms the great distinction between these and other Muhammadans."⁶

Some Account of Mahumud Mehdi, the Wall or Saint of the Mehdivs. Translated and abridged from the Books of his Disciples and Followers. By W. Miles.

Now, the belief of a coming Messiah or Saviour, or, as the Zoroastrians say, a Soshyô, has been, at one time or another, common in almost all religions. Some say, that the predicted man has already come, and others say, that he is still to come. It is said in the Zoroastrian books, that one Soshyô will appear in the world before the final day of resurrection. The three Magi,⁷ who are said to have gone from Persia to pay homage to the new-born child Christ, seem to have gone to him, believing that he was the predicted Soshyô. In coming to that conclusion, they seem to have forgotten that the place spoken

¹ Transactions, L. S. B., II., pp. 395-398.

² *Ibid.*, p. 398.

³ The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer (1843), Vol. I., Introduction XL.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XII.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. LVIII., pp. 69-245.

⁶ Transactions, L. S. B., II. p. 297. ⁷ *I'de* Rev. Dr. Casartelli's "The Three Magi."

of in the Avesta as the place of his appearance was not the place where Christ was born.¹

Now, the belief about a coming Saviour, which is prevalent among the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahomedans, has taken, according to Darmesteter, its definite form, under the influence of Persian mythology. For an excellent treatment of the subject, I would refer my readers to this talented French scholar's lecture on the subject, entitled "Le Mahdi, depuis les origines de l' Islam jusqu'à nos jours" (1885). The author of this interesting brochure says, that Mahomedanism has taken its elements from the three great religions that were prevalent in Arabia, besides its old paganism, at the time of its birth, *viz.*, Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism.² Prof. Darmesteter gives a short description of the different Mahdis, who had at one time or another appeared in Persia, Barbary, Turkey, Egypt and India. The word Mahdi, according to Prof. Darmesteter, means "one who is guided."

It was during the Caliphate of Abd-ul Malik, the 9th Caliph (the 5th Caliph of the Ommayyids), that Mokhtar put forth Mahommed, the son of Ali (the 4th Caliph), as Al-Mahdi. He was, as it were, the first Mahdi. On the death of this Mahommed, it was thought that he was not dead, but was hid in the valley of Mount Radeva, somewhere near Medinâ.³ The real Mahdi, according to the Shi'ites, was the twelfth Imâm, Mohammad Ab'l Kassim, who disappeared mysteriously in 879 A.D.

Of the different Mahdis, there was one, Obaid-allah, who was the first Caliph of the Tobinita dynasty in North Africa (909—934 A.D.). Another was Mohammad ibn Abdallah ibn Tumrut, the founder of the Almohades (Almvaheadun, *i.e.*, Unitarian) dynasty that flourished in Africa. His followers saluted him as the Al-Mehedi on the 28th November 1121.

¹ What happened then, in the case of the three Magi, seems to happen even now, and that in Bombay. About 5 years ago, a number of Zoroastrians of Persia (Irân) in Bombay complained, that some of their compatriots in Bombay follow the religion of Bâb and are adopting Babiism. Those who hold the belief came and saw me and explained their belief. I studied the life and the teachings of Bâb. I learnt from these, and from the conversation I had with the so-called Zoroastrian Babis, that Bâb* who appeared in Persia in the middle of the last century (born in 1824 A.D.) was taken by some of these simple folks to be the Soshyôds predicted in the Avesta, and by others to be the Behram Verjâvand alluded to in some of the later Pahlavi and Persian books (Bahman Yasht III, 14, 39, 45; S. B. E., Vol. V., West., pp. 221, 229, 232. Mâdigân-i-Mâh-i-Farvardin Roz Khordâd in the Cama Memorial Volume, by Dastur Kaikhoshroo, p. 127).

² As the latest attempt to show Zoroastrian elements in Mahomedanism, I would refer my readers to "Zoroastrian Elements in Mahomedan Eschatology," by Louis H. Gray (1902).

³ "Le Mahdi" par Darmesteter, p. 35.

* For my paper on Bâb, *vide* the *સિદ્ધાંત* of Bombay of April and May 1903.

Three such Mahdis have appeared in our times. One was Sheik Mohammed (Mahammed Ahmed) of Dongola in the Egyptian Soudan. The second was the Sheik el Senusi in Tripoli. A third appeared in the country of Aidin. It is the first of these, who has given a good deal of trouble to the Egyptian Government, and whose name will always be remembered with that of Lord Kitchener.

The Mahdi referred to by Mr. Miles in this paper was an Indian Mahdi, Mahummud by name, who was born at Joonpore, near Benares, in 1442 A.D. (847 Hijri). He found an adherent in Sultan Mahmud I. of Gujarât. He died in Fruruh, a city of Khorasan, in 910 Hijri. According to Blochmann,¹ he died in 911 Hijri (1505 A.D.) at Farâh in Balochistan. There was another Indian Mahdi, Shaikh 'Alâi by name, who appeared near Âgrâ in about 1549 A.D. (956 Hijri).² It were these Indian Mahdis, especially Shaikh Alâi, who had given rise to the Mahdi sect and belief, that exerted, according to Blochmann, a great influence upon the mind of Abu Fazl and his brother Faizi, and through them, upon the mind of their royal master, Akbar. Thus the Mahdi belief had played some part in moulding the thoughts of Akbar in connection with his new Ilâhi Din.³

One of the Indian Mahdis was Ubdul Rehman, who appeared in the Bombay Presidency in 1810. He appeared in the town of Boodhân, near Surat. A Parsee Government officer, Mr. Dhunjeeshah Behramund Khan, a vakil of the Rajah of Mandvie, was killed on 19th January 1810, while arresting him.⁴

Transactions, III., pp. 281—341. 28th March 1820.

There is one point in this paper, which would arrest our attention from a Parsee point of view. While speaking of the Ling and Yoni the author says :
An Account of the Caves of Ellora. By Capt. W. H. Sykes.
 "The worship of the Phallus in Egypt, and of Mylitta in Babylon, as mentioned by Herodotus, seems to correspond with the Ling and Yoni *Pooja*, and proves that at an early period the mystic operations of Nature excited the attention and reverence of mankind."⁵

¹ Ain-i-Akbari. Translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., Preface The Life of Abu Fazl, p. v.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. vi, *et seq.* Vide my paper on "King Akbar and his Age" (શાહુ અકબર અને તેનો ઋમીનો) in the Gujarâti *Dnyân Vardhak* (સાન વર્ધક) of Bombay (Vol. XXXI., No. 11. November 1903).

⁴ The Cities of Gujarashtra : their Topography and History illustrated. By H. G. Briggs (1849). Appendix B., p. v. Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel's "Parsee Prakâsh," Vol. I., pp. 115-116. Dosabhoj Framjee's History of the Parsees, Vol. II., p. 24.

⁵ I had the pleasure of visiting the Caves, in February 1891. I would refer my Gujarâti readers to my lecture on the subject before the Dnyân Prasârak Mandli, on 10th March 1891. Vide my Dnyân Prasarak Essays (સાન પ્રસારક વિષયો), pp. 105—120.

⁶ *Transactions*, II., p. 292.

The passage of Herodotus, referred to above, runs as follows :- "At a later period they (the Persians) began the worship of Urania, which they borrowed from the Arabians and Assyrians. Mylitta is the name by which the Assyrians know this goddess whom the Arabians call Alitta and the Persians Mitra." As Rawlinson² points out, "this identification of Herodotus is altogether a mistake. The Persians, like their Vedic brethren, worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra. This was a portion of the religion which they brought from the Indus, and was not adopted from any foreign nation." The Babylonian god Mylitta is a female deity, while Mithra is a male deity. So the identification on its very face is incorrect. I attribute³ this mistake on the part of Herodotus to the similarity of the functions of the Arabic goddess Alitta referred to in his third book (Ch. VIII) and of the Persian Mithra. He was told, that the Arabs took the name of Alitta, when they entered into sacred pledges; he was also told, that the Persian angel, Mithra, presided on pledges and promises. So he identified the Arabic Alitta with the Persian Mithra. Now, the Arabic Alitta was identified with Babylonian Mylitta. So, he identified Mylitta with Mithra. The angel, that would correspond to Alitta, who is the same as Greek Urania, is Persian Anâhita, who is a female deity. So, the Irânian deity, which would remind us somewhat of the Ling and the Yoni, would be Anâhita, who is the personification of the fructifying and all-nourishing powers of Nature.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 127—28.

This is a Circular of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, asking for co-operation from learned societies of different countries. One statement in the Circular arrests our attention from a Zoroastrian point of view. It says: "The

"A Circular of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries."

Old Northern tongue is preserved in its purity in the ancient poetry of the Eddas, in which is also preserved the Old Northern mythology, which has long been supposed and partly ascertained to have much in common with that of India and Persia, and wherein Buddhism also seems to have left its traces."⁴

Among the Persian elements which seem to have their traces in the Snorra or the Younger Edda, the most important is the reference to Zoroaster. Professor Jackson, in his "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân," quotes the reference at full length, and gives his own translation of it. According to that reference, the Edda, while "giving a brief

¹ Herodotus, Bk. I., 131. ² Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I. (1858), p. 271, n. 6.

³ Vide my book "કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ—હરિશ્ચંદ્ર અને સેતેા મુજબ" (The Ancient Irânians according to Herodotus and Strabo), pp. 16—18.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 128.

sketch of the history of the world down to the time of Noah and the Flood, proceeds to an account of the Tower of Babel. . . . Foremost among the builders of the Tower was Zoroaster"¹ who is said to have become King of the Assyrians. "In consequence of the confusion of tongues, he was known by many names, but chief among those was Baal or Bel."² The Edda says: "He (Zoroaster) laughed before he cried when he came into the world."³ This extraordinary thing is also referred to by Pliny, who says:⁴ "We find it stated that Zoroaster was the only human being who ever laughed on the same day on which he was born. We hear, too, that his brain pulsed so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it, a presage of his future wisdom."⁵

Professor Jackson refers to this subject in his account of the early life of Zoroaster⁶ in his above book. Solinus⁷ also refers to this subject. He says: "And so we know that one man laughed at the very hour in which he was born, namely, Zoroaster, afterwards most highly skilled in the best arts."⁸

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., p. 214-217 (January 1845).

There is one statement in this extract which draws our attention from a Parsee point of view. It says: "In another place they discovered great rows of earthen vases of a remarkable size, placed on a brick floor and filled with human bones, and similar to those which have been found at Babylon, Ahwaz, and other places in South Persia."⁹ These vases are the Astôdâns or Ossuaries, the like of which were sent to our Society in 1813, and to the Anthropological Society in 1888, and to which I have referred in my remarks on Mr. Erskine's paper, entitled "Observations on two sepulchral urns found at Bushire in Persia."¹⁰

Of M. Botta's discovery in the ruins of Nineveh, it was then said that "it is one of the most valuable which has been made, for many years, in the field of archæology,—supplying an important link, hitherto wanting, and believed to be irrecoverable, in the history of the Arts amongst the earliest civilizations of the world. . . . The Greek

¹ Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân," Appendix, p. 286. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Natural History, VII., Chap. 15. Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II., p. 155.

⁵ As the Edda contains references to old Persian, Brahminic and Buddhistic subjects, I remember, that when the 8th Oriental Congress met at Stockholm in September 1889, a performance and recital of the Eddas formed a part of the Programme.

⁶ Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân, p. 27.

⁷ As quoted by Spiegel in his *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I., Bk. II., Chap. II., and translated by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana. *Vide* his "The Age of the Avesta and Zoroaster from the German of Geiger and Spiegel" (1886), p. 76, n. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108. ⁹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., p. 214.*

¹⁰ *Transactions, L. S., B. I., pp. 206-213. Vide above, pp. 167-68.*

historians and the books of the Old Testament furnish the very vaguest hints as to the condition of Art among the Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians; and hitherto no monuments were known to exist by which they were more fully represented. Unlike the cities of Ancient Egypt, which have transmitted to our times, almost in their integrity, the Arts of their builders, the great cities of Central Asia—Susa, Ecbatana, Babylon, Nineveh—have perished from the face of the earth, leaving, in the language of ancient prophecy, scarcely one stone upon another. Dreary mounds of rubbish, traversed by deep and narrow ravines that indicate the lines of the streets, alone mark the sites of these mighty cities. Nineveh, the city of fifteen hundred towers, whose walls were a hundred feet in height, and had space on their summits for three chariots abreast, seemed more utterly ruined than even Babylon; yet from beneath its dust has the long buried Art of the Assyrians been recovered, and an impulse been communicated which may end in bringing, through future excavations, our knowledge of the former to something of a level with our understanding of Egyptian Art.”¹

The expectations expressed in the early notices of M. Botta's discovery have been greatly fulfilled. M. Botta has, with his coadjutor, Flandin, published, in 1849, the results of his discoveries under five large handsomely executed volumes, entitled “Monument de Ninive.” The first two volumes contain “Architecture and Sculpture;” the second two, the “Inscriptions;” and the fifth, the text, in which M. Botta gives a description of his way of working and of the different ruins and of the character of the inscriptions.

The discoveries of M. Botta were soon followed by those of Sir H. Layard, who, as M. Botta says, was attracted to the place by his discoveries, and whom he calls a “fortunate rival.”² Layard has described his discoveries in his “Nineveh and its Remains.”

We find another extract of a notice of Botta's discoveries in the same volume of our Journal (II, pp. 325—330). Therein, the writer expresses the difficulty “to know, to which of the three great dynasties, which successively ruled the empire of the Assyrians, they (the ruins) ought to be ascribed, *viz.*, the first race of kings, of which Sardanapalus was the last, B.C. 820; the second race, which became extinct at the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares (608); or the Medo-Persian conquerors, who governed the east till the time of their defeat by Alexander.”³ The writer thinks that “the second Assyrian era was the date of the construction of the edifice.”⁴ Later researches have shown that the ruins

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., pp. 215-216.

² Monument de Ninive, Tome V, Preface, p. x.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., II., p. 327.

⁴ *Ibid.*

principally belonged to the first race of kings and that the principal palace was the work of Assur-nasir-pal (885—860 B.C.).

The writer then describes some of the sculptures, and says : " These divinities, so completely opposed to the spirit of the Magian religion, prove then that the doctrine of Zoroaster had not yet been introduced among the Assyrian people."¹

There is only one Pahlavi book that refers to Nineveh. It is the *Shatrôihā-i-Airân*. It says : " Ninav of Yurâs founded the city of Ninav." The Yurâs, referred to here, is Yunas or Jonas of the Scriptures. We read in the Scriptures : " Now the word of the Lord came unto Jonah, the son of Amittai, saying, Arise, go to Nineveh"(Jonah I., 1 and 2). This is referred to in the Pahlavi book. Maçoudi also refers to this. He says : " C'est à cette cité que Dieu envoya autrefois Jonas, fils de Mati."² The Mati of Maçoudi is the Amattai of the Scriptures.⁴

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., pp. 50—53.

"Remarks on the Origin and Languages of the Aborigines of the Nilgiris, suggested by the papers of Captain Congreve and the Rev. W. Taylor on the supposed Celto-Scythic Antiquities in the South of India" (published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Nos. 32 and 33, of 1847). By the Rev. B. Schmid, D.D. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

This paper must be read together with the following five papers and notes on the same subject, in the Journals of our Society :—

(1) " A collection of words from the language of the Todas, the Chief Tribe on the Nilgiri Hills." Communicated to the Society by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., Art. III., pp. 155—167.*)

(2) " Ancient remains at the Village of Jiwari, near Farozabad, on the Bhima." By Capt. Meadows Taylor. (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIV., pp. 179—196.*)

(3) " A letter by Capt. Meadows Taylor to Mr. C. J. Erskine, on Druidical or Scythic-Druidical Remains in the Shorapoor District." (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., January 1852, pp. 144—146.*)

(4) " Notices of Cromlechs, Cairns, and other Ancient Scytho-Druidical Remains in the Principality of Sorapûr." By Capt. Meadows Taylor. (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., January 1853, pp. 380—429.*)

(5) A letter on " Scythian tombs near Gulburgah." By Mr. R. M. Brereton. (*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII. Abstracts of Proceedings, pp. cliii-v.*)

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 329. ² *Vide* my *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, &c.*, p. 115.

³ Maçoudi traduit par B. de Maynard II., p. 93.

⁴ *Vide* my paper, " The Etymology of a few Towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers," read before the Society on 24th March 1899. *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 226. Vide* my " Asiatic Papers," p. 193.

Though these papers have nothing very special from a Parsee point of view, yet, they are interesting in this, that they treat, directly and indirectly, of the question of the immigration into India of the Scythians who had come into contact with the early Iranians. The Parthians were, by some, considered to be Scythians. Now the question, as to who these Scythians were, has not very definitely been settled. As George Rawlinson¹ said, "a large number, of the best scholars of Germany (and) among them the great historian Niebuhr," and English historians like Grote and Thirlwall, have maintained, that the Scythians were a Tartar or Mongolian race. Rawlinson, on the authority of the test of language, decides against the Mongol theory, and pronounces in favour of the Indo-European origin, but does not decide "to which of the great divisions of the Indo-Germanic race" they belonged. Some say, that they were "Aryans and nearly akin to the settled Irânians."²

Now some antiquarians like Capt. Congreve and Capt. Meadows Taylor thought, that these Todas or Todavers "are exclusively the remains of Celto-Scythians immigrated into India and settled on 'the Hills' at very early times,"³ whose faith was that of the Ancient Druids who worshipped sun and fire.⁴ They came to this conclusion from the fact, that cromlechs or stone Moles and kistavens or closed cromlechs are found among the villages of these Todas, as among the ruins of Ancient Druid villages in Great Britain and elsewhere. On the other hand, Rev. Dr. Schmid and Rev. Dr. Taylor say, that these Todas are, like the Tamulians, Maleialies, Canarese and Telingas, the descendants of a "Caucasian or Himalaya race," which "must have immigrated into the plains of India very early,"⁵ and which was afterwards "pushed forward to the furthest South by other mountain tribes speaking Sanscrit."⁶ Those who hold this opinion, affirm, that the cromlechs and such other remains found at Ootacamund are not special to the Toda villages, but are found in the plains in the various parts of the country. Their chief ground for this opinion is philological, and they show, that the language of the Todas is a dialect of the stock to which the Tamil and the Canarese belong. As I have said in my paper, entitled "A few notes on the Todas of the Nilgiris,"⁷ read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 24th February 1904, some of their customs are such as would tempt a Parsee to call

¹ Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III. (1859), p. 192. Essay on the "Ethnography of the European Scythians." ² Prof. Gutschmid Encycl. Brit., Vol. XXI., p. 576.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, p. 51.

⁴ Vide for these people, also, Capt. J. Ouchterlony's "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neilgherry Mountains" (1847). Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XV. (of 1848), p. 51. Vide also Dr. Shortt's "Account of the Tribes of the Neilgherries" (Madras, 1868). ⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III., No. XII, p. 53.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII., No. 1, p. 74.

them their own, but there are others that are repugnant and would keep him away from that temptation.

The note¹ which is added by the Secretary of the Society to Captain Meadows Taylor's paper on the "Ancient Remains at Jiwarij," and which refers to similar cromlechs or graves found on the South-East Coast of Arabia, are taken from the notes of the survey of that coast. These notes are subsequently published as a paper by Dr. H. J. Carter in the journal², under the title of "A Geographical description of certain parts of the South-East Coast of Arabia, to which is appended a short essay on the comparative geography of the whole of this coast."³

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XII., pp. 58—69.

The author of the paper says in the beginning, that "the Affghans, like most of the tribes whose dialects belong to the Indo-Persian class, claim a high antiquity for their language. As Moslems and Orientals, they piously and graphically describe their Prophet as using Pushtû with the same facility as he could talk Arabic or Hebrew, Zend or Syriac."⁴ There have been different opinions about the stock of languages to which the Pushtu language belonged. Capt. Raverty said in 1860, that "some Orientalists of the present day have endeavoured to make out that the Pushtu language belongs to the Indian or Indû-Teutonic family of tongues, because it contains some Sanskrit words, and because the Urdu or Hindustani dialect bears, as it is affirmed, some resemblance in point of idiom."⁵ But, as his own opinion, he said: "I am inclined to conclude—from the great affinity I have shown to exist between the Pushtu and the Semitic and Irânian dialects; from the numerous traditions on the subject; from the Levitical customs still prevalent amongst the Afghâns, after the lapse of twenty-five centuries from the Jewish captivity; from their great and decided difference in feature from any other people; from their stubbornness and treachery, even towards each other; from their acuteness in matters of trade and their love of gain; and from the numerous proofs we possess of their having gradually advanced from the West of Asia—that the Afghâns are a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel."⁶

This view has led to the notion, that Pushtu is a Semitic language. This view was held a long time before Captain Raverty wrote this. In the Asiatic Researches,⁷ we find a letter from Mr. Henry Van-

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIV., p. 194.

² *Ibid*, pp. 224—317.

³ *Vide Ibid*, p. 262, for the note quoted by the Secretary.

⁴ A Chrestomathy of the Pushtû or Affghan language, by Dr. Bernhard Dorn. St. Petersburg, 1847.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 58.

⁶ "A Dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto, or Language of the Afghâns," Preface, p. xiv.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. xvii.

⁸ Vol. II. (1799), pp. 67—75.

sittart to the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones, wherewith he gives "the translation of an abridged history of the Afghâns."¹ This history traces "the descent of the Afghans from the Jews."² In the note attached to that translation, Sir W. Jones says: "The Pushtu language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaick."³

According to Dr. Dorn, whose Chrestomathy is the subject of this paper, it was reserved to his time (1847) "to establish, on incontrovertible evidence, the fact that the Pusthu belongs to the great family of Indo-Persian languages, without bearing the least resemblance to any of the Semitic dialects."⁴

Dr. Haug considered it an Irânian dialect, and placed it in its affiliated group. The following table of the division of Irânian languages⁵ presents the position of the Pushtu in the Arian stock:—



The late Prof. James Darmesteter, who had come to India in 1886-87 on a special errand to study Pushtu, and had stayed for several months at Peshâwar and Abbotâbâd, has come to the conclusion, that the Pushtu belonged to the Irânian stock, and that it was, as it were, an offspring of the Ancient Zend.⁶ In his triannual report of the work done by the Asiatic Society of Paris for the years 1888—1890, he says: "L'histoire de l'Afghanistan intéresse à la fois l'Inde et la Perse, car il a tour à tour oscillé dans l'orbite de l'une et de l'autre. Sous les successeurs d'Alexandre en particulier, sous les noms d'Arie, Arachosie, Paroponise, el Drangiane, il a été la siège d'un mouvement de civilisation très intense et très varié: c'est de là que la civilisation grecque a rayonné sur l'Inde; il a été plus tard la premier centre de l'empire indo-scythe; quatre civilisations, quatre religions, le Mazdéisme, le

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴ Dr. Dorn's Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghân language, Preface, p. ii.

⁵ Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., pp. 65—67.

⁶ Journal Asiatique, Huitième Série, Tome XVI., pp. 19—180. This report is also published in a separate pamphlet form under the title of "Rapport Annuel, fait à la Société Asiatique, dans la Séance, du 26 Juin 1890, par James Darmesteter. Extrait du Journal Asiatique."

Brahmanisme, le Buddhisme et l'Hellenisme, s'y sont rencontrés, s'y sont juxtaposés et semblent y avoir vécu en paix sous la tutelle des rois barbares. . . . Le phonétisme afghan ne présente aucun des traits essentiels de l'Inde et présente tous ceux qui sont essentiels à la famille iranienne. A l'intérieur de cette famille, il se rattache, non au rameau Perse, mais au rameau zend ; car dans les traits caractéristiques où le zend diffère du perse, c'est le zend qu'il suit ; autrement dit, l'afghan est le zend d'Arachosie."¹

Here, then, Prof. Darmesteter decides, that the Pushtu language not only belongs to the Irânian stock of languages, but is, as it were, the Zend language of Arachosia. There is no wonder, if Dr. Darmesteter has come to the above conclusion, because the modern Afghânistân, where the Pushtu language is spoken, is the country often referred to in the Avesta, as the seat of the Ancient Irânians. The modern names of some of the places in Afghanistan are still the same.²

Now, with respect to the belief referred to above, by Capt. Raverty, "that the Afghans are a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel" and that they "gradually advanced from the West of Asia," I would draw the attention of my readers to a recent book, "The Greater Exodus and the Cradle of the Semitic Race," by Mr. Fitzgerald Lee. In it, the author tries to show, that the cradle of the Semitic race is not in Western Asia as it is generally believed, but in America ; that it was from America that the Ancient Israelites migrated to Asia ; and that it was in this migration from America to Western Asia *via* the Behring Straits, that the Afghans were left in their modern country as an offshoot of the Israelites.

On leaving Peshawar for Cabul, we pass by Jamrud, Khyber Pass and Ali Musjid. About these last two places Lieut. Burton³ says : "*Aprôpos* of such Arabic names as the Khaiber Pass and Ali Musjid, they remark that the latter was originally a mosque founded by the Great Imâm, after his defeating in a wrestling bout, the daughter of Kâfir, who had sworn to remain a maid until such time as she might meet with a man who could prove himself to be such."⁴

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 83-84. *Vide* pp. 69-70 of the separate report.

² I have treated this subject in my Gujarati Lecture on "The Russo-Afghan frontiers, as described in Parsee books" delivered on 1st June 1885. *Vide* my અવસ્તી જમાનાની ધર-સંસારી જીવન, ભુગોળ અને ઐકરાર નીચું. (Avestaic Social Life. Geography and Articles of Faith.) pp. 123-127.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 58.

⁴ A version, a little different from this story, is heard even now by travellers. I heard it when travelling there in 1887. *Vide* my paper before "La Société Asiatique de Paris," entitled "L'Étymologie populaire des noms des étapes entre Pichaver et Kabul." (Journal Asiatique, Huitième Série, Tome, XIV (1889), p. 527. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," p. 263. *Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 13th June 1887 for an account of my visit to Khyber Pass and Ali Musjid.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., pp. 126—31.

These are the notes of Dr. Wilson on a coin² exhibited by Dr. Buist before the Society at its meeting of 11th May 1848. Dr. Buist called it a Bactrian coin. Dr. Stevenson considered it to be a Parthian one, and thought that it belonged to Phraates (Phraortes) IV., "the fifteenth of the Arsacidæ,"³ who was a contemporary of Augustus.

Dr. Wilson agrees with Dr. Stevenson and takes the coin to be Parthian. He says: "The finding of the (Parthian) coin in the Bombay Bazar is a curious circumstance; but it was there probably as a wanderer."⁴ Of the image of the king's face Dr. Stevenson says that "he wears a wig and not his own hair, and from the form of the beard, I should also think it false."⁵ Dr. Wilson says on this point: "On both sides of the question of the artificialness or naturalness of the hair of the head or beard in this instance, something could be said, though it is a fact that the Parthian rulers, like the grandees of Assyria, did sometimes wear artificial beards."⁶ That the Parthian kings should wear artificial hair, looks strange from a Zoroastrian point of view. The Parthian kings, though a foreign dynasty compared to the preceding Persian dynasties of Persia proper, were Zoroastrian. We know, that there seems to be a doubt among some, as to their being true Zoroastrians. But from the references to them in the classical authors we find that some of them were orthodox Zoroastrians. For example, according to Tacitus, one of them, Tiridates, king of Armenia, hesitated to go to Rome, when called there by Emperor Nero to be crowned the king of Armenia, because he would have had to go by sea, which he thought was against Zoroastrian precepts. The Zoroastrian books enjoin, as referred to also by Herodotus and others, that rivers and other fresh-water reservoirs should not be polluted. Now, this injunction was given from a sanitary point of view, because rivers supplied drinking waters to many. Instead of looking to the spirit of the injunction, Tiridates and others took it in its letter, and said, that going over long distances by sea, when they had necessarily to pollute water, was prohibited. So, he refused to go to Rome. The same is said of his brother Vologeses I, the Vulkhash of the Pahlavi books.⁷

Now, then, if the Parthian kings were Zoroastrians, and some of them orthodox Zoroastrians, it appears strange that they put on artificial or false beards, because the hair, like the nails, once

¹ In the Proceedings of the Society of 11th May 1848. *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, No. XII, p. 180*, we do not find any mention of this coin.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III, No. XII, Vide Fig. A, Plate VII.*, next to p. 130, for the coin. It is the first in the plate.

³ *Ibid*, p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 126.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁷ *Vide above, pp. 199-201.*

removed from the body is considered to be an impure thing, and as such, cannot be put on again. Dr. Wilson says: "It is worthy of notice that the imitations of Grecian art were more successful among the Bactrians and Indo-Grecians, and even Indo-Scythians and Ancient Hindus, than among the later Parthians." So, possibly through faulty art, what appears like false hair may be the representation of a particular mode of trimming the hair.

As to the identification of the coin, Dr. Wilson does not agree with Dr. Stevenson in thinking, that it is the coin of Praortes IV. He thinks, it resembles most the coins of Arsaces I. and Arsaces II., and adds that "the identification of the coins of particular kings of the Parthian dynasty, is not an easy matter, as we find on them merely titles and not names, and our historical fragments do not always enable us to identify these titles." ²

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIII., pp. 26—32.

This article may be interesting to students of Geology from a scientific point of view. But it may also interest students from a literary point of view, inasmuch as the author has been, as he himself says, "particular in the examination of these gravel-beds," which he thought were "intimately connected with the most interesting geological phenomena on historical record—namely the Deluge of Scripture." ³ The author thinks that the nearly North and South longitudinal axis of the gravel beds "and the nature of the pebbles show that the course of the flood which deposited them rolled from the northward, from the direction of Mount Ararat, towards the present head of the Persian Gulf, washing fragments from the rocks of the Taurus and Kûrdistân, and grinding their softer materials into the vast, flat, mud deposits which now cover the sea—like plains of Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldæa." ⁴

Now, these remarks about the Deluge suggest the question, whether the Deluge is, in any way, alluded to in the Avesta books. Some see in the second chapter of the Vendidad, where king Jamshed is represented as building a *vava*, i.e., an enclosure or a colony as a protection against the coming winter, an allusion to the Deluge. I do not think it is so. I have, in my essay on King Jamshed, written in 1882 and published in 1884, shown that this chapter does not at all refer to the Deluge. Mr. B. G. Tilak in his recent book ⁵ refers to this chapter of the Vendidad, and says, that in it, there is an allusion to the extraordinary cold of the polar regions, where the Ancient Aryans once lived.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 129. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III., No. XIII., p. 31.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Jamshed, Homa and Fire, *अमरीक हेम अने अमरीक*, pp. 42—53.

⁶ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 375—79.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIII., pp. 36—107.

This paper may be read together with a second similar paper presented by Dr. Wilson in September 1852.

Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina remains of Western India. By John Wilson.¹

(*Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., pp. 340—379.*)

Our present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, takes a kind interest in the preservation of the ancient monuments of our country. He has appointed various commissions for different subjects, but has appointed none for this, and has done what ought to be done in this direction without appointing a Commission. But it appears from this paper of Dr. Wilson, that the attention of the Court of Directors was drawn to the question of the preservation of caves, temples, monuments, and other religious memorials about 55 years ago. That honourable body thereupon determined to appoint a Commission of Orientalists to inquire into that matter. "Preparatory to the commencement of the labours of that Commission, and the issuing of instructions for its researches, another of a local character," had "been formed by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to make such preliminary inquiries about the situation and extent and general character of the antiquities which are to be the subject of investigation as may facilitate its judicious commencement and prosecution."² Dr. Wilson had prepared for this Bombay Commission the Notes which formed the subject of this paper.

Now, this paper has nothing special from a Zoroastrian point of view. But there are three sets of caves alluded to in it, which have something to attract the attention of a Parsee. The first are the Kanheri Caves, near Borivli, in the Thana District. Some Parsee visitors had gone there in the years 999 and 1021 A.D. They have inscribed their names and the years of their visits in Pahlavi.

The Pahlavi Inscriptions are given by Mr. K. R. Cama in his *અવધાન (Zoroastrian Studies)*.³ He has deciphered the first inscription and given its translation.⁴ The late Dastur Dr. Jâmâspji Minocherji has also deciphered it.⁵ Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 have been also deciphered by the late Mr. Muncherji Shâpurji Vâchâ.⁶

Anquetil Du Perron had visited these Caves in 1760 A.D. He refers to them in his *Zend Avesta* (Tome I, Partie I., pp. 394—413), but he does not seem to have noted the Pahlavi Inscriptions.

The second set of caves that are interesting from a Parsee point of view, are the Âjanta Caves.⁷ They contain a drawing of a Persian em-

¹ p. 36, January No. of 1850.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III., No. XIII., p. 36.*

³ The first three in No. II., p. 98 a. The second two in No. III., p. 146 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 147—160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 161—163.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. IV., pp. 209—217.

⁷ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III., No. XIII., p. 71.*

bassy supposed to be that of Behrâm Gour (Behram V.). In my paper before our Society, entitled "The Bas-Relief of Behrâm Gour (Behram V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam and his Marriage with an Indian Princess,"¹ I have referred to these caves, and said, that I think the picture refers to the embassy of Behrâm Gour, of which he himself was an ambassador in disguise.

The third set of caves is that of Bâmiân in Afghânistân, a country over which the Ancient Persians had a sway for a long time. Some hold, that it is an open question whether Buddhism, which spread in all directions, had any influence on the followers of Zoroaster. The late Dr. Darmesteter was one of those who believed that it had some influence. The following remarks of Dr. Wilson on the influence of this religion on Christianity attracts our attention. He says: "It is a remarkable fact that it was by the extension of Buddhism to Bactria and its neighbourhood that the Alexandrian divines, Clemens and Cyril, became acquainted with its existence. Through this line in particular, Buddhism seems to have come in contact with Christianity and encouraged its corruption by the introduction of the monastic institution."²

Now the question is, if it was through Bactria, the country ruled by Ancient Irân, that Buddhism had some influence on Christianity in introducing the monastic institution in it, why was it that it had no influence in this matter on Irân itself? The monastic institution and its accompaniments, ascetic life and fasting, have no room in Zoroastrian beliefs and doctrines. Irân had never any Zoroastrian monasteries, though it had Christian ones. It were, according to Firdousi, the monks of one of the Christian monasteries, who found the floating body of Yazdazard, the last King of Irân, in a river and helped to remove it from there. The Desâtîr, of which we have spoken above, and which is considered to be a semi-Zoroastrian book by some, refers to fasting as a good institution, but therein, its views are opposed to true Zoroastrianism, and its commendation in favour of fasting shows, that, as Erskine said, its doctrine was a mixture of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Sufism and such other beliefs.

James Bird in his paper on "The Bactrian and Mithraic coins" refers to these Bamian caves." He thinks, that "The fresco-painting in a niche of the second idol of the caves of Bamian" belong to the times of "Shrîman Hersha Vikramaditya of Kashmir History who destroyed the Sakas,"³ and whom he identifies with Sapur II of Irân.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. L., pp. 58-75. *Vide above*, pp. 271-2.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIII., p. 78.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 293-302. *Vide above*, pp. 159-200. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., No. XIV., pp. 149—178.

This article draws the attention of a Parsee from the fact that it alludes to Seleucus as a Parsee king. The article is based on the writing of a German scholar, who was famous as well for his Irânian studies as for his Indian studies. Lassen's name is known to Irânian scholars as the editor of the first five chapters of the *Vendidad* (1852), and as the author of "*Die alt-persischen Keilenschriften von Persepolis*" (1836).

As it is well pointed out, Âsoka was to Budhism, what Constantine was to Christianity, and Vishtâsp or Gushtasp to Zoroastrianism. As Sir E. Perry says, the Hindus may be as proud of Âsoka as the Mahomedans of Akbar. Now, in going through this article from a Parsee point of view, we find that Chandragupta (the Sandrocotus of the Greeks), the grandfather of Asoka, ejected from his dominions a king of the Nanda dynasty, and captured his territories. The king of the Nanda dynasty then sought the help of five other Hindu Râjâs and of "the Great King of the Mlechas or Parasikas (Parsis)". This great King of the Parasikas or the Parsees was, as Lassen says, Seleucus, "the then reigning Prince of Persia."² Now the question is, why did the native writers call Seleucus a great King of the Parasikas or the Parsees? Was he a Parsee or Zoroastrian? No, he was not. So, perhaps, they called him a Parsee, because he occupied the throne of the Parsees. Or, perhaps, because he came from the western country of Persia. In the same way, the later Parsee books called Alexander, a Christian, because, he came from the country of Rôum or Asia Minor, whence the Christian emperors of Rome invaded their country. Or, perhaps, they followed some, since lost, much later Persian writings, which, with the false idea of saving the Persians from the ignominy of being considered as defeated and ruled by a foreigner, called Seleucus a Persian or Parsee, just as they called Alexander a Persian or Parsee, saying that he was descended from Dârâ or Darius.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., pp. 1—36. 10th September 1863.

It is well known, that the Ancient Persians had, at one time or another, invaded India, and had made their influence felt in the country in various ways. Old historical books, tradition and coins⁴ prove this fact. This paper, resting on the authority of the coins of two ancient dynasties,

On the Sâh,³ Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Newton.

¹ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., III, No. XIV, p. 154.*

² *Ibid.*

³ The Sâh dynasty is supposed to have ruled from 70 or 60 B.C. to 235 A.D.

⁴ *Vide* my paper, "The Bas-Relief of Beharâm Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and his Marriage with an Indian Princess." *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 58—75. Vide* my "*Asiatic Papers*," pp. 67—84.

offers an indirect proof of this fact. The author says : "With the exception of the Punjab and Sind, where the coinages of the Bactrian monarchs are to be met with, there is no part of India where coins are found so artistic in design and execution as those supplied by Guzerat and Kattiawar. The yields of these districts claim a high interest from the circumstance that they are plainly traceable to Greek originals."¹ He lays down the principle that the "changes in the execution of the dies, indicative of a gradual deterioration of numismatic art," determine "the order of the series."² Proceeding on this principle, he says that "it is unquestionable that the Sâh coinages are imitations from Greek originals. Prinsep, when first alluding to them, before their decipherment, remarked that 'the very style and beauty of some of the earlier specimens might be enough to convince an artist or sculptor of the fact, for we might in vain seek such accurate delineations of the human features on any genuine Hindoo coin.' We should expect, therefore, to find the highest exhibition of art in the coins of the first princes of the series, while the connection with Parthia or Bactria was yet recent, and a gradual deterioration in those of their successors as the dynasty had become isolated."³

Working on this principle, the author examines a number of coins, and among them, some new ones that had come to his hands, and sees in their series an outline of history. He says : "Should the conclusions stated in this paper be correct, we have an outline history of the northern part of this Presidency already sketched out from a date not long subsequent to that of Alexander down to the end of the sixth or seventh century of our era. Passing by Chandra Gupta Maruya, the contemporary of the great Macedonian, and the Bactrian Demetrius, whose invasion of India may be conceded on the testimony of Strabo, we have grounds of admitting the influence, if not the paramount authority in Saurashtra, of Menander, to whom Professor Wilson assigns the date B.C. 126, and whose coins the author of the *Periplus* states to have been still current in Broach at the end of the first century after Christ. The Sâhs must apparently have risen to power very early in the first century of the Christian era, and the last sovereign of the line appears to have reigned about A.D. 250. Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta immediately succeeded them, and these were followed by the Valabhi dynasty, whose era dating from A.D. 319 is generally admitted. Col. Tod gives A.D. 524 as the date of the sack of Valabhi, and the evidence deducible from the coins of the dynasty may be held to favour the conclusion that their empire continued at least some two centuries. Their downfall was attributed by Col. Tod to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Mr. Elphinstone has suggested that the invaders may have been Sassanians, probably under Naushirvan ; and in this

event, we have doubtless an explanation of the occurrence of the "Gadhia" coins already alluded to. Barbarized as these are, the attempt to delineate the bust and fire altar of the Sassanides is evident; and it is certain, therefore, either that the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing in Guzerat, or, as is more probable, that an offshoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there. The time assigned to the fall of Valabhi was one when such an irruption was probable, and if the number of debased Gadhias, which from time to time come to light, may be looked on as indicative of a rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or end of the seventh century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kattiawar, and Guzerat."¹

Mr. Newton here tries to show, that the Ancient Persians had, for centuries, a political influence of one kind or another on India from the time of Alexander, either direct or indirect, through Parthia and Bactria. We know, that in the third century B.C., out of the 12 satrapies of Persia, three were Indian. The first extended from the Paroponessus to the Indus, the second from Indus, properly so called to the Hydaspes, and the third on the lower Indus from Pattala. Eucratides, king of Bactria, is supposed to have sent expeditions into Cutch and Gujarât (181—161 B.C.).

Ferishta tries to trace the connection between India and Persia from very remote times, beginning with Peshdadian Faridun. He says: "Some authors, however, relate that Fureedoon even possessed the Punjab; and that the descendants of Koorshasp (Kershâsp), down to the celebrated Roostom, held it in subjection, together with Kabul, Tibhet, Sind, and Nemrooz."² A Hindu Raja of Punjab, Kesoo Ray by name, who is said to have marched victoriously, at one time as far south as Shewala Dweep (Ceylon) is said to have later on asked the aid of Minocheher, who sent Sâm, the son of Nariman to his aid. Kesoo Ray established his power with this Persian aid.³ Munere Ray, his son, turned faithless to the Persians and took away the country held by the Persians from the hands of the officers of Zal. So, later on, Kaikobâd sent Rustam to reconquer it. Rustam did so and placed a Hindoo chief Sooruj on the throne. It was in his time that Hindus, who hitherto revered the sun like the Persians, became idol-worshippers at the instance of a Brahmin. Later on Kedar Raja paid a tribute to Kâus and Kaikhosru. Ferishta then traces the connection of Persia with India from the time of Ardeshir Babegân to that of Khushro Parviz.

Mr. Newton has continued his researches in this line in his second similar paper, entitled "On Recent Additions to Our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India," read on 9th July 1868.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36. ² Brigg's Ferishta I. Introductory Chapter on the Hindoos, p. LXVI.

³ *Ibid.*, p. LXVII. ⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., No. XXV., pp. 1-19. *Vide below*, p. 259.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., pp. 37—52.

In this paper there are some references that are interesting from a Parsee point of view.

Nasik Cave Inscriptions.
(With a plan.) By Messrs.
Edward W. West and Arthur
A. West.

In describing inscription No. 14 in the Nasik Caves, the authors say: "This inscription is evidently a record of the doings of Ushvadâta, the son-in-law of Nahapâna, the son of King Kshaharâta."¹

This Nahapâna was a Parthian King. All the three names, mentioned above, seem on their face to be Iranian. Dr. Bhau Daji refers to this king in his paper on Inscriptions at Junagur.² He says: "The Parthian King Nahapâna, the exploits of whose son-in-law Ushvadâta are recorded at Nâsika, clearly flourished before Chashtana and Padumâvi. The success with which Ushvadâta conducted his expedition to Malaya or Malabar from the North through the Deccan, shows that the princes of Paithan and of Mahâ-Ândhra could not have been very powerful. I was strongly inclined to look upon Gautamiputra as the founder of the Sâlivâhana era, but the claims of Nahapâna appear to be much more probable."³

Thus the cave inscriptions, in addition to coins and old books, show that the Ancient Persians had exerted great power upto Khandeish and even upto further south.

The paper⁴ of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Newton, read, on 9th July 1868, under the title of "Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India," may be read with advantage in connection with this paper.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., Proceedings, p. xvii.

9th January 1862.

This paper arrests the mind of a Parsee from an industrial point of view. Dr. Birdwood says that the "Inlaid work" was introduced into Bombay about 60 years ago (*i.e.*, about 102 years ago from this date) from Hyderabad in Sind, where it was introduced from Persia, twenty years previous to its introduction into Bombay. Dr. Birdwood gives a list of the names of the manufacturers in this work in Bombay.⁵ The list shows, that out of 51 manufacturers 22 were Parsees. This shows, that the Parsees at that time took up gladly the work, that was imported here from what was once their father-land. At present the number of manufacturers has fallen very low.

The Inlaid Work of Bombay.
By Dr. Birdwood.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 49.

² *Ibid*, pp. 113—131. *Vide below*, p. 309.

³ *Ibid*, p. 118.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, No. XXV, pp. 1—19.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, Proceedings, p. xix.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, No. XXV, pp. 1—19.
9th July 1868.

This paper is, as it were, a continuation of Mr. Justice Newton's paper on "The Sâh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Gujârât,"¹ to which we have referred above. In this paper, the author continues the examination of the subject, that there was once "a line of sovereigns" which connected "the northern portions of this Presidency with Parthia and Bactria and through them with Greece."² He speaks especially of the Sâh dynasty, and says that it can be traced "upwards to one of the Greek monarchies."³

From a report of the Proceedings of the meeting of the Society of 11th July 1867, we learn, that the President, Mr. Justice Newton, had placed before the Society "some unique specimens of the coins of Svâmi Chashtana (who is mentioned in the rock inscription at Girnâr) and of Nahapâna (whose name occurs on the cave inscription at Nâsik and elsewhere)"⁴. He said, these coins showed "the close connection of both sovereigns and especially the former, with the dynasty of the Sâhs," and pointed out "that although the Sâh series is now traced up to names which one would be inclined to set down with much confidence as Parthian, the type of these highest coins of the series as well as of the later Sâh coinage bears a much less close resemblance to the coinage of the Parthians than to that of the Bactrian Greeks."⁵ Mr. Newton then referred to the fact, that in the several cave inscriptions at Nâsik, Karlen, and Junir, Nahapâna was mentioned, and said, that he proposed speaking at some length in the future over the subject of these coins. This paper, then, is the result of his promised further inquiries. "These coins proved," as said by Dr. Wilson at the meeting, "that the Bactrian power had extended to Saurâshtrâ or the peninsula of Gujarat."⁶

At the above monthly meeting of 11th July 1867, the President, Mr. Justice Newton, laid before the Society a number of coins presented by the Chief of Kathiawar. Among the coins so presented there was one from the Thakur of Morvi on which Mr. Justice Newton made the following remarks⁷ :—

"Silver coin of the Sassanian type, already alluded to, interesting as approaching nearer to the original coinage of the Sassanidæ than any specimen that has before reached me from Gujarat or Kathiawar.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., pp. 1—36. Read 10th September 1863. *Vide* above, pp. 305—307.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, Abstract of the Society's Proceedings from Dec. 1866 to Nov. 1868, p. xxii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii. For a further reference to this Nahapâna, *vide* Journal, Vol. XIII., p. 324.

⁷ *Ibid.* Proceedings Official, Literary and Scientific, pp. xiv—xv.

Mr. James Prinsep first remarked on the evidence, which some coins of this class offer, of the rule of a dynasty of fire-worshippers in Gujarat, and I may avail myself of the present opportunity to point out by a small series of these coins, the rapid deterioration of this coinage, as the isolation of the branch settled in Kathiawar from the parent stock may be inferred to have become complete. The first in the series is a coin of the Sassanians, beautifully executed and full of detail, and in the coin now received from Kathiawar it will not be difficult, though there is a lamentable falling off, to trace on the obverse the bust of the King, and on the reverse the same fire altar and two priests. In the subsequent specimens all knowledge of the original designs appears to have faded away. First the ear ornaments of the king cease to be recognised, are separated from the bust, and figured as a distinct device; then different parts of the bust and face are gradually isolated or lost; and ultimately an assemblage of lines and dots is arrived at, which, but for the means which we possess of tracing the descent, step by step, it would be impossible to identify as intended to be a representation of the artistic bust and fire altar on the original coin."

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, No. XXX., pp. 316—407.

12th September 1874.

There is one statement in this paper which arrests the attention of a Parsee. It is a quotation from Goetz¹ which states: "The persecution of the Portuguese had made many Hindûs, Mussulmans, and Parsees abandon their homes and live in the dominion of Shah Jehan, where they had liberty of conscience; and that between Bassein and Damaun there are few natives, the greater part of the village lands being uncultivated." ² Dr. DaCunha then describes at some length, on the authority of a Portuguese writer, the stringent decrees issued throughout Portuguese India affecting the non-Christian population. It shows how shabbily the non-Christians were treated by the Portuguese.

Now, we have the authority of a Parsee book to say, that the Portuguese ill-treated the Parsees in the matter of their religious belief. It is the "Kisseh-i-Zartushtiân-i-Hindustân" by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana. It says (Naôssari Meherji Rânâ Library's fair MS., p. 16, ll. 6-10):—

ز بعد چند سال آن ملک سنجان	گرو گشته بدست شهر فرنگان
روان گشت بسنجان دور آن شاه	بترسیدند هم دانائی خوشراه
بنوساری نوشت یکم نامه ایشان	بسی تنگیست بر ما ای عزیزان
لذا ما بخواهیم از شما یاران	ده بسار بدهند نیکواریان

¹ "A traveller in India about 1650." *Vide Calcutta Review* (1846), Vol. V., pp. 271-272.

² *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., pp. 334—336.*

Translation.—After several years, that country of Sanjân was pledged to (lit., was deposited as a pledge with) the King of the Portuguese. The rule of that king spread over Sanjân [and] all the wise men of good habits got frightened. They wrote a letter to Naôsârî, saying, "O dear friends! there is a good deal of difficulty over us. Therefore, we ask from you, that you good-natured persons may give us the town of Bulsâr."¹

We learn from this passage, that the Parsee priests at Sanjân request their co-professionals at Naôsârî to allow them to go to Bulsâr to carry on their priestly profession there, as they were oppressed by the Portuguese rule.

I have recently come across some Portuguese documents, which shew, that it was the Portuguese Ecclesiastical Department that had the right of granting the permission for erecting new Towers of Silence, and that it tried to put certain restrictions from a religious point of view when granting the permission.

Khâfi Khân,² a well-known historian of the time of Aurungzeb, refers to the tyranny of the Portuguese in religious matters. He says: "If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions . . . he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease."³

The *Bombay Gazetteer*⁴ says, that the Parsees at Thâna had, at one time, to run away to Kalyân to avoid conversion to Christianity at the hands of the Portuguese.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., pp. 311 - 330. 13th September 1875.

"The Labours of the Arab Astronomers, and their Instruments, with the description of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library." By E. Rehatsek.

of using it for taking observations."⁵

"In this paper Mr. Rehatsek described at considerable length the works of the Arabs in astronomy, and described the astrolabe, which was kindly lent for exhibition by Mr. Khursetjee Rustomjee Cama, and the manner

The preliminary remarks of Prof. Rehatsek are specially interesting, as they show, what the different ancient nations—and among them the Ancient Persians—had offered in the advancement of the knowledge of astronomy. Prof. Rehatsek says: "As the ancients have laid the foundations of all the practical and theoretical sciences we now possess, and we have during the lapse of thousands of years become heirs to all the accumulated knowledge which has escaped the ravages of time, and has been preserved to be improved and augmented by future ages, it

¹ Vide my article on "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis" in the *Zarthoshti*, Vol. I., No. IV., pp. 285—289. ² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VII., pp. 344-345.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 344. ⁴ Vol. XIII., Part I., p. 254.

⁵ *Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, p. xxxv.*

behoves us to speak of the attainments of the ancients, whether perfect or imperfect, with humility and veneration.

"The mild climate and the clear sky of the East naturally point to it as the cradle of astronomy, but it would be wrong to assert, as has been done by some authors, that it originated first of all among the Chaldæans.¹ . . . It cannot be denied that when the Greeks were in a state of almost complete barbarism, the Chaldæans and Egyptians had made considerable progress in astronomy, and it is certain that the Greek astronomers of the school of Alexandria had recourse to Chaldæan observations; whilst before their time Thales in the 7th, Plato in the 5th, Eudoxus in the 5th, and Pythagoras in the 2nd Century before Christ, went from Greece to the Egyptian priests to seek instruction. Hence it is clear that the Greeks were not the inventors of astronomy; and although we have mentioned only the Chaldæans and the Egyptians as their teachers, there is the greatest probability that the Chinese, the Hindus and Persians, likewise furnished their quota of astronomical information, but that, on account of the immense distance and the want of close intercourse with these nations, the Greeks became acquainted with their discoveries only at second-hand."²

I think, that the knowledge, which the Greeks derived from the Persians, was, to some extent, direct and not second-hand. Compared to India and China, Persia was nearer Greece. The Greeks came into frequent contact with the Persians in the times of their Achaemenian rulers. We have the authority of a Pahlavi book, to say, that the Greeks translated a good deal from the books of one of the two great Persian libraries. The Dinkard says³ :—

Dayan vazand i min mar-i-dush gadman Alaksandar val Airan shatr dayan khudaiyeh mad zak i val daz i napisht napishtê val suzashnê va zak i pavan Ganj-i-Shaspigân val yadman i Arumayân mad va avash valach yutnaik jiotoâik uzvân vajardê va pavan akâsiâh i min pishinigân goftê.

Translation.—During the calamity which spread in the country of Irân from the wicked, notorious Alexander during his rule, that (library) which was in the Daz-i-Napisht was burnt, and that which was in the Ganj-i-Shaspigân came to the hands of the Arumayâns (Greeks), and they got it rendered into the Greek language for getting information about the sayings of the ancients.

From this passage we learn, then, that the Greeks took a good deal direct from the Ancient Persians. That a portion of this ancient literature

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 311.

² *Ibid*, p. 313.

³ An old Zend-Pehlavi Glossary by Dastur Hoshangji and Dr. Haug. Introduction, pp. xxxii. and xxxvi-vii. The Dinkard by Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana. Vol. IX., Pahlavi p. 450. s. 3. English translation, p. 369.

of the Persians, which the Greeks of Alexander translated into Greek, must have treated of astronomy, is clear from the contents of the Nuskas given in the Pahlavi and Persian literature. We learn from the Dinkard¹, that one of the twenty-one *nuskas* (books) treated of the constellations. The Revâ'yats speak of the sixth book, Nâdar, as treating of the science of astronomy (علم نجوم).²

As to the time when the Arabs took most of the knowledge of astronomy and other sciences from the Greeks, Rehatsek says :—

“ We shall not say anything about the astronomy of the Ancient Arabs, their practical acquaintance with this science having been scarcely more extensive than that possessed by the Greeks before the time of Thales, and they began to make it an object of serious study only during the period of the Abbasside Khalîfs. The celebrated Al Mançûr, surnamed Abu Ja'fer, was concerned most in the intellectual revolution which then commenced to manifest itself among the Arabs. He ascended the throne about the middle of the 8th century (A.H. 136, A.D. 754), encouraged the sciences by his liberality, by the favours wherewith he honoured those who cultivated them, but above all by his own example, because he devoted himself with much ardour to the study of astronomy. His successors followed in his footsteps ; the celebrated Harûn Al-Rashid and his son Muhammad Al-Amin favoured with all their might the movement of civilization which had manifested itself among the Arabs. But among all the Arab princes who became celebrated by their love for the sciences, the Khalîf Al-Mâmûn-A'bd-Allah, second son of Harûn, who ascended the throne A. H. 198 (A.D. 813-14), is deserving of special mention. He protected the sciences as a sovereign and a philosopher ; for, magnanimous like Alexander, he never forgot, even in his warlike expeditions, the noble purpose he had in view. He imposed on Michael III. a tribute of books, constituting the treasures of the ancient civilization of Greece, and afterwards waged war against Theophilus, who had refused to allow Leo, the Archbishop of Thessalonica to depart to Baghdâd, and whom this Christian prince allowed to live on the price of the lessons which he was obliged to give to slaves. Beginning with the reign of Al Mâmûn, all the sciences, but particularly astronomy, took a prodigious start among the Arabs, and crowds of men remarkable for their works and for their scientific attainments surrounded his throne. . . . The astronomers of Baghdâd made a great many important observations, and drew up new tables of the sun and of the moon more exact than those of Ptolemy.”³

¹ S. B. E., XXXVII., p. 17. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 15 n. 1.

² Fragmens relatifs à la Religion de Zoroastre, par Mohl et Olshausen (1829). Persian text, p. 12, l. 21.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., pp. 315-316.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 51—162.

There is one point in this paper that is interesting to the Parsees from an historical point of view. It is the fact, alluded to on the authority of Zakariya-al-Kazwini, that, in the 13th Century, Chaul (now called Revdāndā) was inhabited by a number of Parsees.¹

There are two towns of the name of Chaul. One is that referred to by Dr. Da Cunha, and the other is near Dharampore in the Bulsār District. The town of Chaul referred to in some of the old documents of the town of Naḍsāri seems to be the latter. I had the pleasure of visiting the first Chaul (Revdāndā) in November 1904, to find, if there were any remains of the fire-temples, referred to by Zakariya. I found there no vestige of any Parsee population there in previous times.

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 325-326.

14th October 1876.

In this paper, Pandit Bhagvānlāl gives the description of a plate in which Mr. Codrington had arranged 20 coins of the type known in Gujarāt as Gadhiā coins and in Kāthiawād as Gadhaiyā coins.²

The coins are so arranged in the plate as to give "the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former (Sassanian coins), into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhiā) coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhiās are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian Kings of about the 6th or 7th Century A.D."³ The coins show "a pretty complete gradation so as to establish the supposed origin of the Gadhiā design. . . The name of the coin is derived from the Sanskrit Gardhabhiya meaning of the Gardhabhi dynasty."

According to Wilford,⁴ "Gardhābhi is a name of a family of Sassanian kings subsequent to the period of Varahvān Gor (Behram-gour) : consequently, the date of the beginning of this currency would be subsequent to A.D. 420, when that king flourished."⁵ The face of the king on the obverse and the fire-altar on the reverse of the coin No. 1, are very clear, and they gradually go on being corrupted in the subsequent coins.

The Sassanian type appears not only on the coins of India, but also in the paintings, such as those of Bāgh in Mālwa and Ajantā in Khan-deish, which are believed to have been made about the 6th Century.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 57. Vide Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 97.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, Abstract of Proceedings, p. xxii.

³ Asiatic Researches, IX., p. 149. ⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XII., p. 325.

It is believed, that, during, what Pandit Bhagvānī calls, the dark times—the period between the 6th and 8th Centuries—"some of the Sassanian kings may have established their rule somewhere in these districts and had their currency issued, and that their successors (the Chāudā and Chālukya of Anhilwāda) retained and copied the same type for their coinage."¹ Pandit Bhagvānī gives the following order of the coins found in these provinces:—

1. The punched coins, in which the design is punched into the metal.
2. The small coins having Buddhist figures, resembling those on the punched coins, but struck on the metal with a die.
3. The Kshatrapa, erroneously called Sāh coins.
4. The Gupta coins.
5. The Gadhiā coins.
6. The Mahomedan coins.

On the subject of the Gadhabi family of the Sassanian kings, whose advent into India, and whose coinage seemed to be the origin of the Gadhiā coins, I would refer my readers to my paper before our Society on "The Bas-Relief of Beharām Gour (Beharam V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam, and his marriage with an Indian Princess,"² wherein, Wilford's researches are referred to at some length, and Beharamgour's visit of India is described fully. I would also refer my readers to James Prinsep's "Essays in Indian Antiquities."³

Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., pp. 152—302.

7th July 1877.

"Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368 : comprising the Eastern Grand Khans or Emperors, with the Western or Persian Khans." By E. Rehatsek.

This paper is as exhaustive as the author's preceding paper on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions."⁴ It contains several points interesting from a Parsee point of view.

Speaking about the religion of the Mongols, Rehatsek says : "The powers of Nature had from the most ancient times been personified among Asiatic nations, and according to them, not only the earth and its bowels, but also the sky, is full of spirits, who exert either a beneficent or maleficent influence on mankind ; accordingly it is no wonder that this belief was current, not only among the Mongols, but also the Zoroastrians and Hindus."⁵

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 327.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LI., pp. 58—75. *Vide above*, pp. 271-2.

³ Edited by E. Thomas, Vol. I., p. 341.

⁴ *Vide above*, pp. 244—51.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 181.

The supreme good spirit of the Mongols is Khormusda. "This name of the supreme good spirit is," says Rehatsek, "no other than the Ahura Mazdas or Hormuzd of the Zoroastrians, which had survived among the Mongols from the most remote times, and was thus transformed because they have not 'h' in their language, and because they cannot pronounce the letters 'sd' without adding a vowel to them. The division of spirits into good and bad ones, *i.e.*, Izeds and Devs, is naturally a remnant of the ancient demonolatriy of Eastern Asia in general, and of Shamanism in particular, of which Zoroastrianism itself appears to be only a more noble development, founded on the same basis, *i.e.*, the existence of mighty and of subordinate good and evil spirits, exerting either a preserving or a destructive influence on everything contained in Nature."¹ Their Shimnus, a kind of powerful spirit, "resemble the Zoroastrian Ahriman with his evil spirits."²

Rehatsek compares the persecution of the Mahomedans by the Mongols with that of the Zoroastrians by the Mahomedans. He says: "When the Mongols took Herat, on the 4th of June 1222 (2nd of Jomâda anterior 619), they are said to have slaughtered more than a million and a half of the population, and their work of pillaging, burning, and demolishing lasted a whole week without intermission. Thus it may be seen how an avenging Nemesis abundantly repaid the Moslems for the great persecutions they had practised on the Zoroastrians, when they destroyed the Sasanian dynasty, subjugated Persia by fire and sword, and thrust Islam on the whole population."³

Among the observances ordered by that great Mongol conqueror Chenghiz Khan, one is that of the prohibition "to void urine in water or fire." This, Rehatsek thinks, "is perhaps traceable to the immemorial belief in the sacredness of the so-called four elements still surviving in Zoroastrianism, and formerly universal in the whole of Central Asia; this veneration was carried so far that even the hands were not to be dipped into flowing water, and clothes were not washed, but worn till they fell to pieces: which appears to be an exaggerated application of an injunction, salutary to nomadic tribes, to be sparing of water, which they generally carry about in their wanderings in skins, that can be replenished only when they happen to pass near streams."⁴

In my review⁵ of Rehatsek's paper on Christianity in the Persian dominions, I referred to an instance, in which the early Christian bishops of Persia professed to drive away demons that possessed certain people,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.* pp. 214-215.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁵ *Vide* above, p. 248.

and thus gained the faith of the non-Christians by their so-called miracles. In this paper also, we have a similar case of the early Christian fathers professing to drive away the demons. Prof. Rehatsek quotes¹ the Franciscan father Odoric of Udine, who says: "In those regions, God Almighty hath bestowed such grace upon the Minor Friars, that in Great Tartary they think it a mere nothing to expel devils from the possessed,—no more, indeed, than to drive a dog out of a house. For there be many in those parts, possessed by the devil, both men and women, and these they bind and bring to our friars from as far as a ten-days' journey off. The friars bid the demons depart forth instantly from the bodies of the possessed in the name of Jesus Christ, and they do depart immediately in obedience to his command. Then those who have been delivered from the demon straightway come themselves to be baptized. . . . And in this way our friars baptize great numbers in that country."²

It appears, that as late as in the reign of Gh'azan Khân, who reigned from 1295 to 1303 as a Western or Persian Mongol Khan in Persia, Zoroastrian temples were plundered and their riches taken away by the Mongols. Rehatsek speaking of this Khan says: "Afterwards we find Gh'âzân Khan. . . . giving written orders to them (*i.e.*, to his troops), in consequence of which they plundered a number of Christian Churches and Zoroastrian temples known to contain gold and jewels. To please Nûrûz, who had raised him to the throne, but chiefly to extort money, Gh'âzân persecuted Christians; Zoroastrians, however, Jews, and even Buddhists were not excepted."³

III.

Now we come to the third part of our paper. We will have a glimpse here into the Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Society from a Parsee point of view.

*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. I., pp. xxv—xli.
26th November 1804.*

In his very first discourse, read at Parel on 26th November 1804, on the occasion of the foundation of the parent Society, "The Literary Society of Bombay," Sir James Mackintosh, the founder and the first President, said: "The objects of these (scientific) inquiries, as of all human knowledge, are reduceable to two classes,"⁴ (1) Physical and (2) Moral. Among the moral objects of inquiries, he attached great importance to statistics about

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 276.

² Cathay and the Way thither, by Col. Yule (1866), Vol. I., pp. 155-156.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 292. ⁴ Transactions, L. S. B., Vol. I., p. xxviii.

"the numbers of the people ; the number of births, marriages, and deaths ; the proportion of children who are reared to maturity."¹ He added : "I need not expatiate on the importance of the information which such tables would be likely to afford. I shall mention only as an example of their value that they must lead to a decisive solution of the problems with respect to the influence of polygamy on population, and the supposed origin of that practice in the disproportioned number of the sexes."²

In the Note latterly attached to this Preliminary discourse, and specially referring to the above part of inquiry, we find the following statistics of the Parsee population of Bombay in 1811 A.D. As they are not found in any Parsee records, they are worth noting here :—

"List³ of Parsee caste now Inhabitants of Bombay.

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	...	...	...	3,644
Women do do.	...	...	...	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	...	...	...	1,799
Girls do. do.	...	...	...	1,266
				<hr/>
Total				10,042

Bombay, February 28, 1811."

On the subject of the mortality among the Parsees during the years 1800 to 1808, the Note says :⁴ "It must be observed that many of the Parsees come to Bombay in search of fortune after having reached the age of manhood, and return with a competency to their native countries. Some of them are men of great wealth ; many are in easy circumstances ; and none are of the most indigent classes. From these circumstances the comparatively low rate of their mortality and the smaller number of their females will be easily understood. The famine increased their mortality from 311 in 1802 to 563 in 1804, an augmentation almost entirely to be attributed to deaths of the fugitive Parsees, who were attracted to Bombay by the well-known charity of their opulent fellow-religionists."

To compare with the above figures of February 1811, given in the Note on the Preliminary Discourse of Sir James Mackintosh, I give below the figures of the Parsee population, according to the last Census of 1901 :—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	...	...	...	14,706
Women do. do.	...	...	...	13,005
Boys from 20 down to infant children	...	...	...	9,571
Girls do. do.	...	...	...	8,949
				<hr/>
Total				46,231

¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

² *Ibid.*

³ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. I. (new Edition), p. xxxix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

For some further statistics of the Parsee population of Bombay and of the different towns of India, including Aden, I would refer my readers to the printed accounts of the funds of the Parsee Punchayet for the Samvat year 1957 (1900-1901).¹

From the extracts of the proceedings of the Society given in the fourth volume of the Journal, we cull the following points of interest from a Parsee point of view :—

At the meeting of 20th March 1851, Dr. Wilson directs “the attention Westergaard’s edition of of the Society to a critical edition of the whole of the Zend Writings” that was being prepared by Prof. Westergaard, of Copenhagen, an Honorary Member of the Society. The Society subscribed 5 copies of the book. In his letter to Dr. Wilson, Westergaard writes about, what he calls, the two dialects of the Zend language. “It is not difficult to distinguish between them, especially aided by the oldest manuscripts, as the difference is very strong, and observed not only in the use of different words, or different forms of the same word, but even in the grammatical structure. As the Zend language must be referred to the Eastern parts of Irān, I hazard resting, among other facts, on the authority of Straled, about the difference of the dialects of Bactriana and Sogdiana to assign to our two dialects the names of Bactrian and Sogdian in such a way that I should call with the name of Sogdian that dialect in which the greater part of the Yashna is composed, as it is evidently more rude and more unpolished than that of the other parts of the Zendavesta.”²

Dr. Haug said of Westergaard’s edition : “Westergaard has taken great trouble to give a correct text, according to the oldest manuscripts accessible to him, and his edition is, in most cases, far preferable to the manuscripts used by the priests of modern times. If older manuscripts than those used by Westergaard be known to the Dasturs, they should consider it their bounden duty to procure them for the purpose of collation with Westergaard’s valuable edition, so that they may ascertain all preferable readings for their own information and that of other scholars. Why will they remain behind the Brahmans and the Jews, who have preserved their sacred writings so well and facilitated modern researches to so great an extent ?”³

These words of Dr. Haug have not fallen on deaf ears. • The latest edition of the Avesta is the very valuable text prepared by Professor Geldner, in the preparation of which, the Dasturs and Mobads of Bombay and elsewhere have offered a good help by lending their old manuscripts.

¹ Appendix, pp. 1-30. ² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 143.

³ Haug’s Essays, 2nd ed., p. 77.

At a meeting of 9th October 1851, Dr. Wilson read an extract of a letter from Prof. Westergaard, intimating the publication of his Bundeesh, "and expressing his opinion, founded on a critical examination of the so-called Pehlivi writings, that they are not in any Sasanian language, but merely in a dialect (probably the Kirmanian) of the modern Persian, disguised by the use of an imperfect alphabet, often now mis-read by the Parsees, the Shemitic words introduced into it being merely corrupted Arabic."¹

I have referred above² to Dr. Spiegel's view about the Pahlavi language, which is opposed to that of Westergaard. For remarks on the Bundeesh, I will refer my readers to Dr. West's essay on the Pahlavi language and literature recently published under the title of "Pahlavi Literature."³

From the Extracts of the Proceedings of the Society given in the fourth volume of the Journal, we gather the following points of interest from a Parsee point of view :—

At a meeting of the Society, held on 31st March 1850, "the Rev. J. M. Mitchell had read an extract of a letter from Dr. Graul of Leipsic, containing a strong request that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society would aid in the rendering into English of the Gujarâti versions of the Zend Avesta as one important contribution towards the elucidation of the Zend text." After some discussion the following resolution was unanimously agreed to, *vis.*—"That the desirableness of having an English translation of the Gujarâti version and the commentary of Framjee Aspandiarjee on the Zend Avesta having been brought forward, the Society fully recognizes the importance of the proposal, and resolves to discuss it more fully at its next meeting; appointing in the meantime the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Rev. J. M. Mitchell, C. J. Erskine, Esq., and H. Green, Esq., to consider and report on the whole question."⁴

At a meeting of the Society, held on 18th April 1850, the Committee "reported that, after full inquiry, it was convinced of the desirableness and practicability of the scheme, but as several modes of carrying it into execution had been suggested, they would beg permission to report on this specific point to a future meeting. The Society agreed to the report and continued the Committee."⁵ The proposed translation has not appeared as yet.

At a meeting of the Society, held on 13th November 1851, the late Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel read a Prospectus concerning a Zend Dictionary.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 153.

² *Vide* above, pp. 222—26.

³ Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II., Band. i, Lieferung III.

⁴ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, No. XIV, Extracts from the Proceedings of the Society, pp. 342—343.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

he proposed publishing in Gujarâti and English and submitted a specimen of it.¹ At a meeting, held on 14th October 1852,² Rev. Murray Mitchell communicated to the Society, a few extracts from a letter, which he had received from Prof. Spiegel. In that letter Dr. Spiegel referred to the above prospectus of Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Patel, and expressed his satisfaction at the prospect of having a Zend dictionary in English. He said: "I am convinced that we may still learn much from the Parsis; and I want to get out of them what they do know as soon as possible, and before it vanishes entirely."³ The Dictionary proposed by Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel has not been published. But we have the satisfaction to know, that the wish of Dr. Spiegel has been fulfilled in his lifetime, nearly 48 years after its first expression, by the publication of a Zend Dictionary in English and Gujarâti, in 1900 A.D., by the pen of the late lamented Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga, Principal of the Mulla Feroze Madressa of Bombay. In the death of that unassuming learned scholar in March 1904, Parsi scholarship has lost one of its best exponents. He has also published the Gujarâti translation, with grammatical notes, of the whole of the Avesta text and an Avesta grammar in Zend. His Gujarâti translations will remain as standard translations among the Parsis for many a year to come, because they are prepared on modern scientific methods, while the translation of the late Mr. Aspandiarji Framjee, published under the auspices of our Society on the recommendation of Dr. Wilson, are prepared in the old traditional way. Mr. Kavasji Kanga has also prepared a Dictionary from English into Avesta and it will be shortly published as his posthumous work.

At a meeting held on 12th February 1852, Rev. Murray Mitchell referred in his paper on Zend literature, reviewed above,⁴ to Dr. Spiegel's edition of the Avesta texts and their Pahlavi rendering.

Spiegel's Texts.

The Society resolved⁵ to buy two copies of the book, and opened a subscription list for the book. Revd. Mitchell also referred to this book in his letter placed before the Society at its meeting of 14th October 1852.

Obituary Notices of Erskine and Burnouf.

In the fourth volume (No. XVI.) we have a "brief memorial" and the obituary notice of two orientalists.⁶

The first⁷ was presented on the 15th July 1852. It was a "Brief Memorial of the Literary Researches of the late William Erskine," Esq., by Dr. John Wilson. This memorial article presents an interesting estimate of the literary work of Mr. Erskine, the first Secretary of our Society, who was associated with his father-in-law, Sir James

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 155. ² *Ibid*, pp. 469-470. ³ *Ibid*, p. 470.

⁴ *Vide* above, pp. 203-9. ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 462. ⁶ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., pp. 276-288.

⁷ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., pp. 275-284.

Mackintosh, the founder of the Society, in most of his good work in connection with the Society. We have noticed above¹ the papers on Iranian subjects read by Erskine to which Dr. Wilson refers.

The second is an obituary notice of a French scholar. It is entitled, "The late Professor Eugène Burnouf, of Paris, and his Oriental Publications."²

Under this heading, the Journal of our Society has transferred to its columns, with a few remarks of its own, the obituary notice of this great French savant, who was an Honorary Member of our Society. The character of Burnouf's writings is very excellently summed up in the notice in these words:—"Ses travaux resteront comme des modèles où la rapidité du coup d'œil, la méthode de l'examen, la netteté des conclusions sont accompagnées d'une conscience pleine d'autorité."³ His "Commentaire sur le Yaçna," which is really a monumental work, clearly illustrates this view of his writings. Anquetil Du Perron had brought to light the ancient writings of the Avesta, and it was left to his compatriot, after about 70 years, to complete his work by laying the foundation of the scientific and philological method of studying the Avesta. As Prof. Wilhelm says, his book is still a model of the way in which Avesta studies should be carried on. Prof. Wilhelm says: "Son livre est encore aujourd'hui un modèle de la méthode à suivre dans les études avestiques. Il nous montre comment on doit travailler, ce que le travailleur doit demander à ses sources et à lui-même. La méthode de Burnouf est purement philologique."⁴

The editor of our Journal says in his preliminary remarks that he was "a most valued correspondent of most of our Eastern scholars."⁵ This remark reminds us of a book published in 1897 by Madame L'Delisle, the daughter of M. Burnouf, under the title of "Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf, conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue dressé par M. Léon Feer." In the appendix to this book, we have the letters of Burnouf addressed to different correspondents in the matter of his books and studies. Among these correspondents, we find the name of a well-known member of our Society, the late Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee⁶. We have in this book, 12 letters of Burnouf, addressed to Mr. Manockjee—from 26th June 1836 to 16th May 1845. These letters, the first of which begins with the formal word "Monsieur," and the last with the affectionate and friendly terms "Mon cher et honorable ami," give us a glimpse of the character of two of our past members, who both have left, in their own spheres, lasting memo-

¹ Vide above, pp. 167-68, 177-183, 183-87. ² Journal, Vol. IV., pp. 284-288. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴ Études Avestiques. La Critique et l'Exégèse de l'Avesta (Extrait du Muséon 1886), p. 11.

⁵ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 284.

⁶ Vide the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 20th January 1900, for an outline of the correspondence between Mr. Manockjee and M. Burnouf, the two distinguished members of our Society.

rials of their services, direct or indirect, to the Parsee community. Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee's name is well known among us, as that of, if not the first, one of the first, champions of female education among the Parsis. Burnouf's monumental work, "Commentaire sur le Yaçna," has given an altogether new turn to the study of the Avesta. In the first letter to Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, M. Burnouf gets a little enthusiastic, for having an opportunity to correspond with a man of the blood of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. After referring to the fault of the Parsees in having neglected their ancient language, he says: "Mais en même temps, je serais bien malheureux si je pouvais croire qu'il fût permis de supposer, d'après mes observations critiques, que j'ai voulu manquer de respect pour les nobles débris d'un des peuples les plus héroïques et les plus grands de l'antiquité ; je ne puis au contraire penser sans un vive émotion qu'il subsiste encore dans l'Inde des reste précieux de cette belle nation persane, dont l'histoire se lie intimement pendant deux siècles à tout ce que l'antiquité européenne nous a légué de plus grand, et que ces débris ont su, dans les temps modernes, s'élever par le travail et l'exercice constant de leurs devoirs religieux et moraux au rang des nations les plus respectables de l'Asie. Permettez-moi même d'éprouver quelque orgueil de me trouver, grâce à votre bienveillance, si directement en rapport avec un des plus glorieux représentants de cette illustre race. Il me semble que je converse avec un homme du sang des Kûlus, des Dârâ et des Kchâhrchâ, que nous autres Européens nommons Cyrus, Darius et Xerxès, et dont j'ai essayé de lire les noms et d'expliquer les pensées dans le Mémoire sur vos antiques inscriptions de Perse, que je vous prie de vouloir bien recevoir avec indulgence."¹

In this letter, Burnouf expresses the great pleasure he felt in having the opportunity "to converse," as he said, "with a man of the blood of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes" by letters. Then, how much more must have been his pleasure, when, later on, he had the opportunity of meeting personally that man? From an article in "La Nouvelle Revue" entitled "Lettres inédites d'Eugène Burnouf et de Manakji Kharshedji," from the pen of Mademoiselle Menant, we learn, that when Mr. Manockjee Kharshedji went to Paris in December 1841, M. Burnouf on meeting him, exclaimed: "A living Parsee, this is a glorious day!"² We find from M. Blochet's³ catalogue of Parsee books in the National Library of Paris, that Mr. Manockjee Kharshedji had helped Burnouf in his studies by presenting him with several Parsee books. The earliest date of this presentation is 1838.⁴

¹ Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf, p. 127. ² La Nouvelle Revue, 1891-92, p. 504.

³ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale par E. Blochet, 1900, pp. 12, 57, 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

The obituary notice of Burnouf transferred to the columns of our Journal, presents a good appreciation of Burnouf's literary work. We may here draw the attention of our readers to M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire's appreciation of Burnouf's works, translated into English by the late Mr. Ardeshir D. Lalkaka (1901), a promising Parsee student, who lately died in the prime of his youth.

From the Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society given in the fifth volume of the Journal we gather the following points of interest :—

At the meeting of 20th January 1853,¹ the late Dastur Peshotan Behrāmji Sanjānā submitted to the Society, through Mr. Green, a member of the Society, his Gujarāṭi version of the Pahlavi inscription at Hājīābād near Naksh-i-Rustam. Mr. Manōckjee Cursetjee, another member, was requested by the Society to communicate his views regarding the Dastur's decipherment and translation. On the receipt of this letter, "an animated conversation took place as to the value of the Dastur's labours. . . . The Society requested that the Gujarāṭi version forwarded by the Dastur, through Mr. Green, should be rendered into English, and submitted to the Society. A letter from Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee was also read, in which he stated that upwards of two years ago he had deciphered and translated the same important inscription, arriving, however, at considerably different results from those of the Dastur's labours. The Secretary was requested to communicate with Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee (who was not present) and obtain a copy of his translation, and the remarks which he stated himself prepared (? proposed) to make on the paper of Mr. Pestonji Behramji, in the hope that the communication of both these gentlemen in this difficult ancient record might ultimately be inserted in the Journal of the Society."²

From the proceedings of the next meeting, *i.e.*, of 17th February 1853, we learn that "the translations of the Pehlivi inscriptions at Haj-i-Abad, with the observations of the translators, Messrs. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, and Pestonjee Dastur, which accompanied them, were delivered to Professor Harkness, for examination and report at the next meeting."³

From the report of the proceedings of the meeting of 15th September 1853, we find Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee stating to the Society that he had seen copies of the Haj-i-Abad Inscription, both in Sir Ker Porter's Travels⁴ and in Prof. Westergaard's edition of the Bundhesh and that

¹ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., V, p. 830.

² *Ibid*, p. 380.

³ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., V, p. 382.

⁴ Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c., by Sir Robert Ker Porter, Vol. II, p. 513, Plate XV. (It is a pity, that somebody has removed this plate from copy in the library of the Society.)

he found the latter carefully taken from the original. He had first deciphered and translated the inscription from Sir Ker Porter's copy, but he now submitted a fresh translation from Westergaard's copy. He added, that, as yet, he did "not feel quite competent to place before orientalists a satisfactory translation of this inscription, because he is still doubtful of the orthographical and interchangeable value of some of the characters, which he will be better able to explain in the preface to his Zend Dictionary."¹

From the report of the proceedings of the meeting of 20th October 1853, we find that Dastur Peshotan also submitted his new translation made from Westergaard's more correct copy. He said with confidence: "I have not spared any pains to render my decipherment and version faithful and accurate. I therefore have no hesitation in submitting the result to the criticism of the European public."²

The Society resolved to publish the decipherments and translations of both the authors in the next number of the journal. We do not find it published either in the next number, or in any of the succeeding numbers of the journals. Nor do we find any reason given for it. But it appears from a book of Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel,³ that it may be due to the difficulty of getting the proper types. Mr. Dhunjeebhoy has latterly published his own decipherment and translation.

The report of the proceedings of the meeting of 17th November 1853, speaks of the presentation to the Society, by Mr. Barker, of the sepulchral urns "found in a mound called Tel Balari in the vicinity of Bagdad, which was excavated under his direction."⁴ They were found in "a sepulchral vault, containing about 150 urns, piled upon one another about ten feet deep, in a semi-circular form. Some of these contained calcined bones and ashes, also pieces of vitrified earth, glass and beads."⁵ These urns are the ossuaries, or the Astodâns of the ancient Persians, referred to by Erskine in his paper before the Society on "Observations on two sepulchral urns found at Bushire."⁶ We know that this custom of preserving bones prevailed also among people other than the ancient Persians.⁷ The fact of glass and beads being found in these urns, shows that they were the ossuaries, not of the ancient Zoroastrians, but of some other people. The Museum of our Society contains the old Astodân, sent to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, as referred to above,⁸

¹ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., V, pp. 393-94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

³ The Origin and Antiquity of the Arian Family of Languages (1861), Preface, p. VIII.

⁴ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., V, p. 398.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Transactions, L. S. B. I., pp. 206-13. *Vide* above, pp. 167-168.

⁷ Babylonian and Oriental Record of 1890. Dr. Casartelli's article, entitled "Astodâns and the Avestic funeral prescriptions."

⁸ *Vide* above, p. 167.

and transferred by the latter Society to our Society, when it transferred its *locale* to our rooms. It also contains two other urns which seem to be the urns referred to here, as presented by Mr. Barker.¹

In the meeting of 11th October 1855, Dr. Wilson on the Avesta was placed before the Society, the paper of Professor Spiegel, "On the Avesta Language." "On the Avesta and the Zend and Pahlavi languages."² I have referred to this paper above, at some length.³

I would refer here to one or two points in the remarks made by the late Dr. Wilson on Professor Spiegel's paper as reported in the Abstract of the Society's Proceedings.⁴

In support of his views that "the most ancient Avastâ pieces are certainly later than those contained in the Indian Vedas,"⁵ Dr. Wilson points to the fact that "with many resemblances to the religion of the Vedas, they (the Avesta pieces) have their antagonisms to it which shew posteriority."⁶ To illustrate his point he says: "The Sun (Asura sometimes) is a god in the Vedas, with only subordinate attention, while he is the chief deity of the Zend writings, endowed with intellectual and moral attributes, Ahuro Mazdâo (Hormazd), the multiscient Sun or Lord, while in another form he is Hvarë-Kshaeta, the Resplendent or Ruling Sun or Khurshid."⁷ I wonder, how Dr. Wilson identifies Sun or Khorshed with Ahura Mazda. There is nothing of that kind in the Avesta. As to the antagonism itself, one fails to understand, how, that in itself, unsupported by other facts or circumstances, could prove the posteriority of one set of writings or the other.

Dr. Wilson, at the conclusion of his remarks, on seeing so many of his Parsee friends present, expressed his satisfaction that they were not "altogether standing aloof from the interesting inquiries to which their literature is giving rise."⁸ If one is to believe—and I am one of those who do believe—that the spirits of the dead have a watchful interest in the good works with which they were associated in their lifetime—and you may understand that form of belief in whatever way you like—the spirit of that great Orientalist, who ruled, with a watchful eye, for several years, over the work of this Society, would be pleased, on the centenary of his dear institution, to observe, that the satisfaction expressed by him, about fifty years ago, was well expressed. As a proof of that, I would refer to two papers, read by Rev. Dr. Casartelli, Professor at St. Bede's College, Manchester,

¹ I had the pleasure of exhibiting these at the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held in Bombay in December 1904 and at the Centenary Conversazione of our Society held on 17th January 1905.

² Journal, B. B., R. A. S., V, pp. 492–96.

³ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 693–95.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 694.

⁶ *Vide above*, pp. 222–26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 694.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

before the 9th¹ Oriental Congress at London (1892) and the 13th Oriental Congress² at Hamburg (1902) on "The Literary Activity of the Parsees during the last decade." These two papers show the literary activity of the Parsees in India during the last twenty years.

At the Meeting of 14th August 1856, was read an extract from a letter, dated 7th May, 1856, from Professor

4. Prof. Spiegel on Parsee ceremonies.

Spiegel to Rev. J. M. Mitchell. Spiegel herein speaks of his coming German translation and of his introduction to that translation. Speaking of the Parsee ceremonies he says: "I have been astonished myself by the close resemblance which the greater part of these ceremonies bears to the institutions of the Christian Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. However, there is nothing very puzzling in this fact, for the ancient Parsis, as I have had occasion to state before, studied in the Christian schools of Syria and Persia. It was quite natural that they should take an interest in the religious discussions of their teachers and apply the results to their own religion when that was possible. But I scarcely need to tell you, that great as the similarity is in some instances, the difference in others is not less striking."³

Well, the most important ceremonies of a religious community are the funeral ceremonies. A study⁴ of these ceremonies shews, that these ceremonies, as performed, even now, by the modern Parsees, rest on most of the injunctions of the Vendidad and of other parts of the Avesta, which were written long before the Christian era.

In the 6th volume of the Society we find no paper of special interest to the Parsees. From the Abstracts of the Society's Proceedings as reported in the 6th volume, we gather the following points of interest from a Parsee point of view.

At the Meeting of 10th September 1857, a letter, dated 18th July 1857,

Romer and Bunsen on Zoroaster.

from Mr. J. Romer was read. He sends a copy of an issue of the "Révue de l'Orient," which contains a paper on "The Pahlavi of the Zend Avesta." He assumes that he has sufficiently established the fact that "it may not be doubted that *remains* of writings extant in the fifth century, when the Armenian Bishop Essick carried on a religious controversy with the Persian

¹ Vide Transactions of the Ninth Congress, Vol. II, pp. 528—36.

² Vide Asiatic Quarterly Review, July 1903. These papers have been also published in separate forms.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 704.

⁴ Vide my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation," Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 405.

Magi, have, as shown by their agreement, furnished materials for the composition of some parts of the sacred books of the Parsis; whilst it is manifest, by the testimony of undisputed facts, that the languages named Zend and Pahlavi, in which these books are written, are artificial, not genuine, original, or indigenous tongues at any time spoken by any people or nation known to history."¹ Mr. Romer adds that he has arrived at this conviction after a diligent, though "somewhat desultory search for truth."² I think, that it is this desultory search that has not enabled him to follow the trend of thought expressed on this subject by specialists in this line at the time.

In a postscript to this letter, he calls Zoroaster "an imaginary personage."³ Well, such attempts to consider prophets mythical personages have been made more than once; and it is in reply to these attempts that Baron Bunsen⁴ says, "The reasoning Aryan, especially, whose intellect roves fearlessly in all directions as on its own domain, seeking for first truths, comes face to face with the great problems of humanity: Whence comes evil, if the good God rules this world? How could evil spring from God? How arise without God, and how continue to exist contrary to His will? Such thoughts it was, which, under the reign of Vistaspa, an undoubtedly historical king of Bactria were agitating one of the mightiest intellects and one of the greatest men of all time—Zarathustra Spitama. Accounted by his contemporaries a blasphemer, atheist, and fire-brand worthy of death; regarded even by his own adherents after some centuries as the founder of magic, by others as a sorcerer and deceiver, he was nevertheless recognized already by Hippocrates as a great spiritual hero, and esteemed the earliest sage of a primeval epoch—reaching back to 5,000 years before their date—by Eudoxus, Plato, and Aristotle. The shallow eighteenth century had already voted him a bygone fanatic or impostor, when a zealous French inquirer, some eighty years ago, set out upon his tracks, and not without success. The key, however, to the understanding of the man and his place in history, we find, as it seems to us, in a hymn consisting of eleven three-lined strophes, having reference to some great public transaction, which was, if we mistake not, no other than that of his first appearance before the assembled magnates of the land, in the character of a reformer. It is a parallel to Luther's ninety-five Theses and his affixing them upon the church door at Wittenberg."

¹ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. VI., (1861), Abstract of Proceedings at the end, p. XXXIX.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "God in History or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World", translated from the German by Winkworth, Vol. I, pp. 275-6.

From the Proceedings of the Meetings of 8th October¹ and 10th December,² 1857, we find that Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel on "The Authenticity of the Iranian Family Languages." Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patel had read before the Society, a paper, in two parts, on "The Authenticity of the Iranian Family of Languages." The paper is not published in our Journal, but a short abstract of it is given in it. In the first part the author questioned "the opinion of W. Schlegel, Sir W. Jones, Richardson, Vans Kennedy and Mr. Romer that the Zend language was fabricated by the Parsis after their emigration from Persia. . . . He maintains that the language did formerly exist in Persia. . . . He observed that, had the language been forged by the modern Parsis, it could scarcely have stood the test when examined by the light of comparative philology."³

In the second part of the paper, the author "asserted that the Zend language was independent of the Sanscrit." In this paper, he also "called attention to the Huzvaresh, or proper Pehlvi language." "In conclusion, he stated that he had mainly, if not entirely, indented on the Continental authors of Europe for the support of his arguments, leaving aside the Persian and other national authorities with a view to avoid prejudice."⁴

This paper has been published in a book form by Mr. Dhunjeebhoy, under the title of "On the Origin and Authenticity of the Arian Family of Languages, the Zend Avesta and the Huzvaresh, (1861)."

From the Proceedings of the Meetings of the Society, published in the eighth volume of the Journal, we note the following points :—

We learn from a report⁵ of the Meeting of 14th July 1864, that Mr. (afterwards Sir) Cowasji Jehangier Ready-money had generously presented to the Society, works on Oriental Literature of the value of Rs. 5,000. In moving the adoption of the report for the year 1863-64, Dr. Wilson referred to this munificent gift and said : "The presentation made by Mr. Cowasji Jehangier had done much to supply the immediate wants of the Society in the matter of Oriental Literature as furnished by the press of Europe. Through means of it, the Society was now able to profit by the progress made in Eastern research in many of the countries of the West."⁶

¹ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. VI, p. XLI.

² Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. VI, pp. XLI-XLII.

³ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. VIII, Abstract, p. XVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XLVIII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. XLVIII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. XXV.

The following words of Dr. Wilson, uttered by him at the above Meeting, are worth quoting, to impress upon the present members of the Society, the necessity of spending a good part of the Society's income upon books of Oriental literature. Dr. Wilson referring to "the liberal contribution of three hundred Rupees a month lately voted to the Society by Government," said: "This sum would, no doubt, be an important item in the future income of the Society; but it must be borne in mind that it had a special destination. It was not intended to relieve the members from their usual contributions to the support of the library, and the establishment maintained for their own benefit, but for the extension of the labours of the Society in Oriental research. The similar contribution long given to the Asiatic Society in Bengal, was wisely devoted to the publication of the Bibliotheca Indica, a most valuable collection of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian texts; and we, too, in Bombay, it must be remembered, have a similar work to effect. The publication of Oriental texts proceeds but slowly, and it needs all available help in the West as well as in the East of India."¹

The Hon'ble Mr. Frere, the President, "confirmed what had just been said by Dr. Wilson respecting the objects of the monthly sum granted by Government,"²

In the address, which the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Frere, delivered at this annual meeting, when he resigned his post, we find the following reference to the election of the first Parsee and the first native as a member of this Society. He said, "Those of you, who have been as long connected with the Society as I have been, will recollect the great opposition which was made in the year 1833³ to the admission of a native as a member of the Society. It is a good rule of our Society, that no record is ever kept of those who have been proposed as members and black-balled, but it is now a matter of history, that notwithstanding the exertions made by some of the most popular and influential of our members, they signally failed in getting this native admitted into the Society as a member, and it was not until Manockjee Cursetjee had been elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and his friends claimed as a right for him to be admitted a member of this Branch Society, that the door was opened.⁴ All honour be to him for his characteristic perseverance and indomitable courage on this as on all occasions. After he was admitted—the Hon'ble Juggonath Sunkersett, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and others soon followed: and good reason we

¹ *Ibid.*, p. XXXII.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. XXXIX.

⁴ In January 1840.

have not only to be proud of our native members, but to be grateful to them for the splendid additions they have made to our Library and Museum. To whom are we so much indebted for presents of Books and a large and costly collection of coins as to Cowasji Jehangier Ready-money, Esq., and the Hon'ble Juggonnath Sunkersett; and have not Bal-Gungadhur Shastree, Dr. Bhât Daji and Dhunjeebhæe Framjee been large and useful contributors to our Journal. Gifts and contributions, such as these, may well make the Society proud, and grateful to our native members."¹

It appears, that the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Frere himself, had a great hand in the matter of opening the doors of the Society, at first to Mr. Manockji Cursetjee, and then to other native members, because, in the address presented to him, on 17th March 1865, when the then Governor, Sir B. Frere was present, we read the following words :—"Above all, we would most gratefully acknowledge your ready and generous appreciation of the desire of native gentlemen to enter and enrich this Society. To this we owe the strength which we derive from a body of fifty native subscribers, and the truly noble benefactions of the Honorable Juggonnath Sunkersett and of Messrs. Cowasjee Jehanghier and Premchund Roychund to our Library and Museum. The importance of your appreciation of the native liberality, during the present critical period of the history of Bombay, cannot be too highly estimated."²

The Hon'ble Mr. Frere refers to this point in his reply, and says :—"I may remark, however, that the Society now really, is Asiatic, which it hardly was before, but which I trust it will ever continue to be."³

We observed above, that in his address in 1864 the Hon'ble Mr. Frere, the then President, paid due honour to the late Mr. Manockji Cursetji for getting the doors of our Society and its splendid library opened for his native brethren. Forty years after this, on the auspicious occasion of the Centenary of our Society, we may repeat the words of the then President and say "All honour be to him." If I, as his co-religionist, may be permitted to remember his name in the religious language of our ritual, I will say, "Behdin Manockjee Behdin Cursetjee *aider Yâd bâd anôsheh ravân ravâni*," i.e., "May the soul of the immortal-souled Manockjee Cursetjee be remembered here."

From the Proceedings of the meetings of the Society reported in the 9th volume, we gather the following notes, which may interest a Parsee.

In the report of the special meeting⁴, held on 17th February 1870, to do honour to Dr. Wilson, who was then going out to Europe for two years, we find Dr. Wilson making the following reference to the Parsees and to the work done by the

**Dr. Wilson on the Parsees
and their Literature.**

¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIX.

² *Ibid.*, LXXII.

³ *Ibid.*, LXXIV.

⁴ Journal, B. B., R. A. S., Vol. IX, Abstract of Proceedings, pp. CLXVI-CXCIII.

Society in the matter of their literature, and to the work begun by them in their study of Iranian literature. He says,¹ "Sir John Malcolm, in an early address he delivered before this Society, said that in the first instance Bombay must be specially looked to for an elucidation of the ancient Zoroastrian faith." This remark was founded on the fact that here we have a considerable body of the descendants of the ancient Persians residing amongst us, who are in possession of the remains of the literature of Ancient Persia, who show most vigorous action in mercantile life, and who, by their union and energy, have done a great deal to advance the cause of general improvement in this country. Our Society has, in regard to this matter, done much that is of great consequence.

Mr. William Erskine, in his various learned and valuable papers laid before the Society, produced some remarkable elucidations of the ancient religion of Persia; and (partly in consequence of the papers which he and others furnished), Professor Rask was sent to this country by the King of Denmark, and was successful in obtaining most of those valuable relics of the ancient world which are now in the University Library of Copenhagen. My own discussions with the Parsis, and their rejoinders to some of my publications, followed; and with my subsequent larger work on the Parsi Religion, they attracted attention not only in the religious but literary world. The visit to this country of the distinguished Orientalist Professor Westergaard, about the time of the publication of the last mentioned volume, gave a powerful impetus to the study of the Zoroastrian literature. Both in Bombay, and at Yezd in Persia, he acquired important manuscripts. I had the pleasure, too, of giving him the use of those which by purchase and gift I had acquired in this place, chiefly from the late able and learned Fardunji Meherasbânji, from whom, I may mention, Professor Rask had obtained his acquisitions. Those manuscripts, when added to those at Copenhagen, Paris, and in England, gave peculiar aids to Professor Westergaard in preparing and editing his successful critical edition of the text of the Zend-Avastâ, for which to him we are so greatly indebted, even in the view of what has been done in the same direction by Dr. Spiegel. The edition of the *Vandîdâd*, *Izashnê*, and *Vispard*, in the Gujarâti character and with a Gujarâti translation, lithographed for the Society under my own eye, from a manuscript I procured in Gujarât, has enabled Orientalists to become acquainted with the interpretations of the *Avastâ*, long current in Western India. Dr. Haug, in his interesting *Essays*, and other works published in this city, has ably shown how much these interpretations require to be amended. Though it be admitted that the principles of the Zoroastrian faith and curious matters connected with it are now well understood by

¹ *Ibid.* CLXXXVI-CLXXXVIII.

many, much requires to be yet done for the elucidation of the Zend or rather Avastâ language. The analogy or cognate relationship of that language to the Sanskrit, is apparent to every Oriental scholar. From that analogy alone many clauses in the Zoroastrian writings are perfectly intelligible. There are, however, many words in it, which do not appear to be connected with the Sanskrit, at any rate in its classical form. Help to understand their meaning is to be found from the study of the Pehlavi and Persian languages, while the elements of a few of them may be found even in some of the other Iranian, if not Shemitic, and Turanian dialects. I am glad to find such men connected with this Society as my friends Mr. Dhanjibhai and Dastur Peshutan, engaged in studies connected with the ancient literature of Persia. I am so glad to observe that a Zend Madrissa or College has been founded in Bombay by the Jijibhai family. It is an interesting fact connected with it, that it contains some students of the language of the Avastâ, who have laid aside the merely traditional interpretations of that collection, and who are looking for the meaning of its obscure texts by references to the cognate languages and other philological appliances. In this, no doubt, they will get important help from the researches of Dr. Haug.

As observed above, by Dr. Wilson, our Society had at his instance published for the first time lithographed editions of the Gujarati texts and translations of the Vendidad, the Yaçna and Visparad of the Parsis. When he went to Europe in the end of 1842 or the commencement of 1843, he wrote a letter to the Society,¹ resigning his post as the President of the Society. In that letter he announced, that the Vendidad was already lithographed, and recommended the publication of the Yaçna and the Visparad. The Society at its Special General Meeting of 30th December 1842,² resolved to get the Yaçna and the Visparad also lithographed.

We find from the Proceedings of the monthly meeting of 13th September 1843, that the lithographed copies were for the first time placed on the table of the Society on that day.

It appears, that in those days, the Society permitted papers to be read before it, that were controversial—controversial not only from a literary point of view, but also from a religious point of view. Not only that, but it accepted dedications of that kind of books; for we find from the above letter of Dr. Wilson, that he presented with it, a copy of his book, which was dedicated to the Society and entitled "The Parsee Religion as contained in the Zend-Avesta and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted and contrasted with Christianity." The book was, as he himself says in the letter, "in

¹ The letter is printed on p. 235 of the 1st vol. and is without date.

² The date 30th December shows that the European members of the Society then were very enthusiastic in their work, and met even in the holy week, considering the cause of Literature and Science to be as holy as the cause of religion.

some degree controversial." Dr. Wilson in the following words in the preface, shows its controversial nature and its ulterior object. He says : " May it be extensively instrumental in leading the Parsees to embrace the doctrine of salvation, in quickening the prayers and efforts of Christians on their behalf."¹

The Society even makes a graceful allusion to this book and its presentation in its address presented to him on his resignation.² But, perhaps, there was no danger then of having before the meeting subjects that were controversial from a religious point of view, because the doors of the Society were then closed to native members. Mr. Bal Gungadhar Shastri, a well known Hindu scholar, who then contributed many papers to the Journal of the Society, had only to send his papers to the Society, addressed to the Secretary.

Though such repeated controversial papers and writings of Dr. Wilson had, to a great extent, hurt the feelings of the Parsee community at that time, let it be said now, that it were such controversial writings that aroused the Parsees to stand on their defence, and for that purpose, to study, more closely than before, their own religious books. Khan Bahadur Bomonji Byramji Patel in his article " A Brief Outline of some Controversial Questions that led to the Advancement of the Study of Religious Literature among the Parsis " in the Cama Memorial Volume refers to this subject, and says: " The Parsis felt the emergency of a careful research into their religious literature."³ He gives a list of several publications among the Parsees that followed the controversies of those days.

Again, let it be said, to the credit of Dr. Wilson, that he was always anxious to help the publication of old oriental works, whether they treated of historical or religious subjects. We know, that when those bitter controversies had, later on, cooled down, in the old age of Dr. Wilson, the Dasturs of the Parsee community, who once had bitter feelings against him, looked to him for support, encouragement and help, in the publication of their works. He, at times, used his personal influence in getting them patronage for their publications from the hands of Government. No member of the Society has, during these last 100 years, taken that prominent part in the work of the Society, both directly and indirectly, which Dr. Wilson had taken.

¹ Preface, p. 17.

² *Vide* Journal, B. B., R. A. S., IX, Abstract of Proceedings, p. CLXX.

³ *Vide* the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, edited by me, p. 181.

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